

TEXT-BOOK
OF
INDIAN HISTORY

For Indian Schools

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A

TEXT-BOOK OF INDIAN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I

THE COUNTRY AND THE EARLY INHABITANTS

Section 1—The three regions.

The India of the map-makers—sometimes erroneously called “Hindustán”—is a vast triangle, lying between the 68th and the 96th meridians of east longitude and the 36th and 8th parallels of north latitude. In area and population it is about the equal of Europe without Russia, but its mountains are nearly double the average height of those of Europe and its rivers are longer and carry down to the sea a far greater volume of water. The northern side of the triangle consists of a double range of mountains between whose walls the principal rivers take their rise, flowing east and west from the same neighbourhood, not far from the Márasarowar lake, and gradually adding to the land at their respective mouths deposits of soil brought down from the mountains. This mountainous region, whose highest peaks probably reach an altitude of six miles, is known to geographers as Himálaya, having, a length of 1,500 miles, and an average breadth of 200 miles. To the north-east of this the country is tributary

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REGIONS

to the Emperor of China, to the north and north-west are the countries of Túrkestán chiefly subject to Russia, and the hilly province of Afghánistán, under an independent Amír in close alliance with the Indian Government. The higher levels of the Himálaya are covered with perpetual snow, which, however, comes down to a less distance on the south than it does on the northern side. Above the snow line there are no fixed dwelling places of man, although a few temples and shrines are found there as places of pilgrimage. Through the valleys and gorges of these mountains the tribes of the north have often poured themselves upon the plains. At the western end, near the country of the Afgháns, the remains of the Arvan invaders of India are believed to inhabit the valleys, while on the eastern extremity are found tribes of kindred origin to the Chinese: the former are the independent tribes of Kafirs and Dards, the latter are found in two States, Nepál and Bhután. In the west centre is the protected State of Kashmír, some of whose inhabitants are Muslims and others Hindus. The climate and scenery of this elevated region are affected by very remote causes. To explain these it will be necessary to turn our attention to the seas of the equator, or central belt of the globe, and consider the nature and origin of the monsoons, which will be done at the end of the present section. In the meanwhile it will be sufficient, here, to mention that the snows of the Himálaya act on India in two ways. *Firstly*, they serve to cool the vapour brought up by the monsoons from the sea and to cause

it to fall in the form of rain. The rainfall of the Himálaya region is one of the largest in the world, so much as 40 feet of water falling annually in the eastern portion, while that of England is but two feet in the year. *Secondly*, the snows melting in the strong sunshine of the hot season, fall down the southern slopes in vast streams of water, which tear up the hill sides and prevent vegetation in the steeper parts but fertilise the lower valleys, so that the climate is temperate, many beautiful trees grow, and various fruits and vegetables can be produced, for the use and food of man. The chief wealth of the region is therefore timber, charcoal, grain, potatoes and other kinds of vegetables which grow beneath the soil, tea, and some kinds of spice. Borax and honey are also produced, and some of the streams bring down a little gold. Many kinds of animals are also found in this region, some beasts of prey, such as bears, leopards and a small variety of tiger, other beasts of burden or of human food, such as yaks, sheep, deer, goats, and many kinds of game-birds, of which some are common to Europe and others peculiar to the place.

The second region consists of the vast plains which extend from the mouths of the Indus in Sindh, to those of the Ganges and Mahánadí in Bengal. This region, which probably marks the site of an ancient sea that once flowed between the Himálaya and the Vindhya range, is almost free from high mountains, and is traversed by great rivers. The soil is of great fertility, excepting a tract between the systems of the Indus and the upper

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THE THREE
REGIONS*The Second
Region*

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Ganges, and the population is generally one of the densest in the world. In some parts, without large towns, the purely rural population is reckoned at the rate of one human being to every acre of land. The Indus before receiving its tributaries flows from the western side of the great watershed or elevated land between the two ranges of the Himálayas, while the Sanpu, rising on the eastern side of the same watershed, falls into the great river Brahmaputra which flows between Assam and Bengal. Of these two great rivers the Indus waters the desert of Sindh and falls into the Indian Ocean near Karáchi, the Sanpu system, gathering the central system which we have called "Gangetic," forms the delta of Bengal, and falls into the Bay of that name in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. The Mahá-nadí, on a smaller scale, fertilises Orissa. The land between the Indus system and that of the Ganges, is almost unwatered, and forms the hilly country of Rajputána with the still more arid Bikaner, productive of hardy warriors, but of little more. All these rivers are navigable, and supply an almost inexhaustible volume of water for canals for the purposes of irrigation, some of the canals are also navigable. The necessity for them arises partly from the inequality of level in the vast breadth of the region, and partly from the uncertainty of the rain-fall which—like the Himálaya climate—will be made more plain when we come to the subject of the monsoons. The rivers of this region are fed by the snow which melts on the mountain sides as the summer approaches. Thus water is provided when

it is most wanted. But as their beds are below the level of the land on both sides this water cannot be distributed without artificial aid. Hence it has been found necessary to tap their streams at the points where they leave the hills, and to carry the supply of water from such points to commanding levels whence they can be poured upon the plains in appropriate channels. The first attempts to construct a system of canals were made by some of the Muslim rulers and their works have been utilised and improved by the British. But the greater irrigation-works are entirely due to the latter. Some idea of their magnitude may be formed by considering that the Ganges system of canals alone can supply water to 1,462,023 British acres of land. The climate of all parts of this region is subject to the same general laws. In the extreme north-western part, known as the Panjáb from its five local rivers, there is less rain, and consequently less fertility, but a hardier stock of people. In the Gangetic plain, or Duáb, the rainfall is plentiful, but subject to occasional failure. In the eastern portion, where the water-supply is more abundant and constant, the population is abundant but less vigorous. In all three districts there are two harvests: the *kharif*, or autumn-harvest, sown in the beginning of the hot weather, and consisting of semi-tropical crops, such as cotton, sugar, millet, and rice; the *rabi*, or spring-harvest, sown in the beginning of the cold season, and consisting of the cereals and fruits of the temperate zone. Wheat, the chief *rabi* crop of the Duáb, is grown largely for sale out of

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India, and its exportation is becoming more important every year, both to India which benefits by its sale and to England which is largely dependent on its purchase. The region produces several kinds of valuable timber and fruit-trees, groves of which are planted near the villages and by the sides of the public roads. Through the whole extent runs a fine metalled causeway, known as the Grand Trunk Road, begun by the mediæval Sultán, Sher Sháh, whose monument is by the side of it at Sásseram. The birms of this magnificent thoroughfare—over 2,000 miles of length—are planted with shady avenues, while at the end of every stage are *saráis* for the accommodation of the poorer wayfarers and their cattle, and rest-houses for the use of the travellers of larger means.

*The Third
Region.*

The third region of India is a vast table-land, sloping from west to east and bordered on all three sides by mountains of moderate altitude, of which the eastern and western ranges meet in the south, ending in the peaks of Dodabetta and those of Cape Comorin. This country, stretching from the Tropic of Cancer to within eight degrees of the Equator, is known in history as the Deccan, or *Dakshin* (from a Sanskrit word meaning "right-hand" or south). It is inhabited by about one hundred millions of human beings, of whom some are of Hindu or Muslim blood, descended from settlers from the north, but for the most part the people are more like Burmans or Malays. The high table-lands and hills of the Vindhya in the northern part of this region may have retarded migration from that side and

tended to preserve the difference of races Parallel to the Vindhya, and a little to the south flows the Narmadá river rising in the Amarkantak range and traversing a breadth of some eight hundred miles, but rocky and rapid to an extent that makes it useless for purposes of irrigation or navigation South of this comes another range of hills, and then another river, the Tápti this and the Narmadá are the only considerable streams that flow from east to west, there is a tradition that the sanctity of the Ganges is about to be transferred to the Narmadá The Sahyádrí mountains or Western Gháts begin at the left bank of the Tápti, and run parallel to the coast for seven hundred miles, the haunt of the tiger and bison, and the home of the wiry and warlike Marátha race who ruled the greater part of India towards the end of the eighteenth century To the east of these mountains is the main plateau of the Deccan, watered by streams which flow eastward following the slope of the land The Mahánadí rising not far from the eastern side of the same range where the Narmadá rises, serves to divide that part of the Deccan from Hindustán canals from this powerful river are taken northward into Orissa, and it pierces the Eastern Gháts and empties itself by many mouths into the Bay of Bengal South of this comes another large stream, the Godávarí, and the pass by which it cleaves the Eastern Gháts is twenty miles in length Below this it has long been useful for irrigation, but it has never been anywhere navigable for vessels of any magnitude The Krishna crosses the Deccan for a

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distance of 800 miles, having two tributaries on the west called the Bhímá and the Tungabhadra it flows into the Bay of Bengal near Masulipatam The Káveri rises farther south in Kurg, crosses the Deccan for 475 miles, passing through Mysore by the famous town of Seringapatam, and falls into the Bay by Tanjore, where its northern branch has the local name of Coleroon in this portion of its course it has been made to irrigate 835,000 acres of land The rainfall of the country to the eastward of the Sahyádrí range is moderate, but, as it could be easily reached and had a fertile soil, it became the seat of powerful kingdoms It abounds in timber trees, foremost of which is the Teak, and many esculent and spice-yielding plants are found in its vast jungles Among the indigenous animals are found the elephant, the tiger, the bison, with wild sheep and deer The deltas of the large rivers produce great quantities of rice, and since the British came, coffee and cinchona have been introduced and grown The food of the people is chiefly derived from the various kinds of millet the chief article of export being cotton Coal, iron, gold, and diamonds are produced in various parts of this extensive region Turning to the races of man we find in the Deccan a much greater variety than in Hindustán Descendants of the earliest inhabitants live in the interior hills and forests, while on the plains—besides the immigrants from the north mentioned above—we find races in many respects resembling the inhabitants of the Indus valley, and speaking different dialects of a language

generally known as "Dravidian." These dialects occur in geographical order. The Tamil—which has been described as the best representative of cultivated Dravidian—is chiefly used in the south, from Nellore to Tinneveli; the Telugu—which from its sweet and musical sounds has been compared to the Italian—is found over the north from Orissa to Nellore; the Kanarese and Malayalam are spoken from Cape Comorin to the top of the Malabar coast. The two great kingdoms of these races, before the Muslim conquest, were Telingána on the east, whose capital was Warangal, and the western kingdom whose seat was the ancient city of Bijáyanagar.

Such is a brief sketch of the three main regions, or natural divisions of the vast peninsula of India, anciently called *Jambudwipa* or *Bharatkhanda*. The Himálaya region is the wall through whose gateways invading tribes, following the courses of the rivers, have poured upon the plains. The central belt is the arena on which they have lived, and fought and founded empires. The southern triangle has received immigrations, not only from the north but from the coast, and has formed the hunting ground of adventurous foreigners for more than two thousand years.

To complete our knowledge of the conditions under which these events have happened it will be necessary to say a few words about the climate of India.

The chief agent in producing the Indian climate is the south-west monsoon, a wind that rises, laden with moisture from the equatorial ocean about the summer

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THE THREE
REGIONS

Summary.

*The South
west Monsoon*

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solstice, and traverses the country till it meets the snows of the Himálaya region at an average height of 20,000 ft. Here the vapour which it contains becomes cooled and falls in the form of rain. As a rule most rain falls where the cooling process takes place most quickly. The rain in the hills bordering Bengal averages some 40 feet in the year, while in the Panjáb the mean rainfall is short of 20 inches. Sometimes the period which elapses after the anti-monsoon (blowing during the winter months from the north-east) is very much prolonged, and a severe hot season is the result. Occasionally—about every eleven years—the summer monsoon fails altogether. Then a dreadful dryness falls upon Upper India. The water-level sinks so that the wells hardly yield enough water to support the needs of mankind and a few indispensable bullocks. It is in such seasons that the benefits of irrigation, by means of canals, become conspicuous. For the rivers of the mountain region, supplied by the melting of the snow, contain more water as the land becomes more arid, and artificial streams taken from the higher levels and maintained at suitable elevations, are able, as has been already noted, to distribute water over large tracts of the afflicted country. The largest of these works is the Ganges canal—opened in 1854—whose main stream is 654 miles long, and navigable for cargo-boats of moderate size from Rûrki to Cawnpur. It has 3,000 miles of distributing channels and cost a capital outlay of five *lacs* of rupees. With its branches it waters nearly one and a half million of acres. There

*Canals and
Irrigation
Systems*

are three other large canal systems in the North-Western Provinces and three more in the Panjáb. In Sindh the irrigated area is over one and three quarters million acres, in Bombay about half a million. In Orissa irrigation is carried on from the Mahánadí, in Bengal embankments take the place of canals. Behar and Oudh are watered—to a minor extent—from local rivers. In the Deccan there are seven main systems irrigating about five and a half million acres, but neither here nor any where else out of Upper India is there the incalculable advantage of snow-fed rivers yielding the fullest supply when most required.

Generally speaking, it may be remarked of the natives of India that the less fertile the soil the braver and hardier are the people. In the warm damp of Bengal and in the temperate highlands of Kashmír, where the land yields quantities of simple food, the people are mild, timid, and apt to be ruled by foreigners. The Játs, Rájputs, and Sikhs, living in lands where the climate is one of fierce extremes of heat and cold and where the soil only yields its increase to stubborn labour, are men of another mould. They are daring soldiers and inured to toil and hardships from their infancy, and, even when submitting to a foreign yoke, can make their rulers respect their wishes and provide for their well-being.

Section 2—The early inhabitants

The first human beings who have left clear traces of their existence in any part of India belonged to the

SEC I THE THREE REGIONS

*Character-
istics of in-
habitants of
each region*

**The Early
Inhabi-
tants**

SEC II	<p>race that appeared in the northern hemisphere many centuries ago, when the ice and snow which formerly covered the land began to melt, and is known as the <i>neolithic</i> or "later-stone" race. Flint implements, cup-marked stones, and other remains of this stage of man's development, are found in many parts of the Deccan *. They were followed by a race of rude iron-workers who raised stone-circles and buried their dead under earthen mounds and slabs of rock. At some far-distant but unhixed period they knew how to make round pots of hard, thin, earthenware, and wore ornaments of copper and gold. These iron-men seem to have lived down to the days of the Roman Empire, judging by coins that have been found in their cemeteries, or their tombs—as certainly happened elsewhere—may have been used by later races. Descendants of these primitive races—to the number of many millions—are still to be found in the hills and forests of Central and Southern India, and the bulk of the Hindu population, with the exception of the Bráhmans, is partly sprung from them.</p>
THE FAIRLY INHABITANTS	
<i>The neo lithic race</i>	
<i>The Iron workers</i>	
<i>Primitive races mixed with foreign invaders,</i>	<p>Like many other nations, both ancient and modern, the Hindus are of mixed descent. In India as in Great Britain, Italy, Greece and other countries a foreign race invaded the land and after subjugating its inhabitants settled down and took their women in marriage. The first conquerors of India were the Aryans, a handsome race of men from the north of the Himálayas,</p>

* Older implements are said to have been found in the valley of the Narbada but not any where further north

whose relative advantages are still imperfectly preserved by the Bráhmans who have maintained their superiority by the help of the laws of caste. Later invaders may be traced, under the names of Nágás, Takshaks, and Gáts who are all described in European books as "Scythians" the word has no precise scientific meaning, but the names of some Scythian tribes are perhaps to be found in India, such as *Oxydracæ* (comp Kshattriya) and *Massagetae* or Getae, who may have been the parents of the Játs. Mingled with these are found the Rájputs, mentioned in the last section, who may be taken as representing a subsequent internal migration of Kshattriyas, driven out of the Gangetic valley by political or religious troubles and harboured in the stony tracts between the Indus and the Narbadá. Besides these neo-Aryans, other tribes, of non-Aryan origin, are found in Hindustán, under the name of Santals, Bhars, Gonds and Bundelas, while, just south of the Narbadá, the once intractable Bhíls are almost completely reclaimed since the introduction of British rule. Of all these races those of pure or mixed Aryan origin have embraced Hinduism or—in rarer cases—the faith of Islám while even the aboriginal, or Prae-Aryan, tribes are gradually succumbing to the system of the Hindus as that with which they are most in contact. Sir W. Hunter estimates the total number of these latter as over twenty millions, while the majority of the remaining Hindu population, perhaps over one hundred and twenty millions, are the offspring of mixed parentage. The remnant, say of

SFC II

THE EARLY
INHABITANTS

SEC II	fourteen millions, may be of pure Aryan descent
THE EARLY INHABITANTS	The Bay of Bengal contains groups of islands known as the Andamans and Nicobars, whose natives were,
<i>The Andamanese</i>	so late as 1855, in a state of the most primitive savagery. Small of stature, and black of skin, they went entirely naked, ate the flesh of each other, and drove away strangers who came near them with flights of arrows. It is now known that they belong to the family of Negritos, or Oriental negroes. They have no sense of religion except a kind of hopeless belief in an evil demon who sends diseases upon man. It has been thought that these islanders use some words common to certain of the Hill tribes of Eastern India. On the neighbouring parts of the continent a number of big stone monuments attest the nature of the early population, still represented by droves of timid savages, and by the Náirs whose marriage-customs point to a very early form of social life. Going a little further north we find the country formerly called Gondwána—now "The Central Provinces"—in which a majority of the people still belongs to non-Aryan families. The Gonds, who gave the old name to the country, were the masters, and a Gond Rájá still exists in Nágpur, though without political power. In Orissa is still found a "relic of the stone-age," as Hunter describes the Juangs, or "Leaf-wearers" whose primitive costume indicates a race to whom needles were unknown, and in whose language there was not—nor is yet—any word for iron or other metal. They live in houses, or huts, which are said to be the smallest ever used for human habi-
<i>The Náirs</i>	
<i>The Gonds</i>	
<i>The Juangs</i>	

tation The aborigines of Assam are still more savage, resembling the Andaman islanders in appearance and habits A higher degree of civilisation had been reached by the people who inhabited the forest-tracts to the west, now known as Chutiá Nágpur The chief tribe of this part is known as Santál, a forest race with many virtues who, as late as 1856, resisted a British army though only armed with bows and arrows as with other backward tribes their religion is cruel and gloomy, involving the propitiation of envious demons by bloody sacrifices and offerings from their simple possessions Further south, the Kandhs occupy the uplands of the Mahánadí as they did 1500 years ago Their scheme of life is patriarchal, in this respect resembling not only the Hindus but the ancient Romans All neighbours were regarded as natural enemies, and no woman, or man who did not bear arms, was allowed to succeed to an estate, since every holder of property might at any time be called upon to defend it by force These institutions point to a primeval social system and account for its preservation Marriage within the tribe of the bridegroom was, however, forbidden, and he was left to steal a wife from the villages of his enemies or to buy one from a friendly tribe The Kandhs avail themselves of the services of a lower or servile race, a practice which serves to show that they too in some remote period, were foreign conquerors their religion was once very gloomy and required human sacrifice, but this practice they are believed to have relinquished within the last

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INHABITANTS

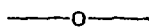
“spinning, weaving and dyeing existed among them” Specimens of their pottery are still forthcoming in their tombs. They knew just enough to make them welcome the Aryans as friendly teachers, and the name of the first Hindu missionary who settled amongst them is still preserved in the “Agastya” peak which towers over Cape Comorin at the extreme south of the Indian peninsula. “Bishop Caldwell,” we are told, “takes the Aryan immigration, *circa* 550 B C, as the starting-point of Aryan civilisation in Southern India. Dr Burnell, however, believes that Aryan civilisation had not penetrated among the Drávidians until the advent of Kumárika, the Brahman reformer from Behar in the eighth century A D.” So difficult is it to obtain chronologic data for Hindu history! The earliest Drávidian writings are naturally in the language of their teachers, *vis*, Sanskrit. Afterwards they began to use their own vernaculars and the change has been attributed to a Buddhistic resistance to the Bráhmanical revival of which we shall have to speak more fully hereafter.

*Tamil their
principal lan-
guage*

Of the four principal Drávidian languages the Tamil is held to be the most influential and the purest and its first use is attributed to the missionary Agastya. In this case we shall perhaps be safe in placing the work of this Hindu apostle to the Drávidians not earlier than the seventh century A D. “The oldest Tamil grammar is assigned to one of his disciples”, and we are told that before the Aryans came grammar was one of the arts with which they were unacquainted. It would appear that Buddhism was at this time the

popular creed, its champions as well as its opponents would naturally write in the vernacular, as we know to have been the case in England and other countries at periods when rival teachers were contending for popular favour. The principal work of the mediæval English reformer Wycliffe was a vernacular translation of the Bible, and the Tamil *Rāmāyana* is dated about the tenth century A D. Seven hundred years later we come across another set of Tamil writings attacking Brāhmanism.

Judging of the past rather by the more recent facts than by the vague and meagre evidence of books and traditions, we obtain an approximate idea of the condition of the indigenous or pre-Aryan inhabitants of India. We see a vast variety of races and tribes, ranging from naked cannibals to people in possession of the germs of civilisation, some wandering in the jungles, while others till the fields or build temples, palaces and towns. When the fair-skinned Aryans first make their appearance some fly to the forests, others remain as clients, pupils, or slaves. But this important subject requires a new section of our work.



Section 3—The Aryan invasion

The earliest evidences that have come down to us show the existence of a handsome fair-skinned race, the product of a cold, or at least a temperate, climate, some of whose tribes were settled in the valley of the Oxus. In the most ancient literature of Persia and

SEC III

THE ARYAN INVASION.

The Ary-
ans.

SEC III

THE ARYAN
INVASION*The home of
the Aryans*

Upper India these are called the tribes of the "Aryans," and their early seats are called by some name founded on this word. Thus the ancient Persian writings call the land north-west of the Himálaya "Airvana"—now Airan or Iran—and the part of India first occupied by their invasion is known in the oldest Indian poetry as "Aryavarta." It is supposed that there was a time when these tribes had a common origin and a common home, and the fact that the words used in family life and peaceful occupations are common to all the branches of the race is cited in confirmation of this view. Where the same name is found applied by scattered peoples to the same thing it may be safely concluded that the thing was familiar to their forefathers at a time when they were living together and before the dispersion. In the case of the Aryans we find such relations as father, mother, brother, daughter described by terms that are either identical or closely similar, and the same remark holds true of many other words used to express simple ideas and objects of home life, such as the cardinal numbers, the homestead, the plough, and some matters connected with the tillage of land. The religion of the early Asiatic Aryans was a worship of fire, the sun, and other natural phenomena.

*The date of
Aryan in-
vasion is not
known*

At what time the separation occurred which led to the invasion of India by these Aryans is unknown. Early English scholars, accepting the estimates of the Brahmans, assigned to it very ancient dates, but it is now generally held that it took place much later. All therefore that can be asserted is that, whether driven

out by religious persecution or by political quarrels, or whether forced to wander because their simple methods of tilling their land did not yield them enough to live on in Khorâsân and Balkh, the Aryans of those regions crossed the Hindu Kush bringing with them the rudiments of an Indo-Germanic language and some hymns to their deities. Among the scattered mountain tribes between Kâbul and Kashmîr are found forms of rude old Aryan speech, and the people are fair of skin, with light hair and blue eyes, using wine of their own production, and having few, if any, usages in common with the modern inhabitants of Hindustân. These tribes, it can hardly be doubted, are descended from the weaker or less enterprising members of the invading Aryan columns the bulk of whom, at unknown, and perhaps different, times, poured through the passes and entered the valley of the Upper Indus in the dawn of the Hindu period.

The only evidence that we possess as to the social conditions and habits of these conquerors of Hindustân and founders of the Hindu community is to be gathered from ancient records of which the relative order indeed is known but not the precise period. Of the Vedas, a writer of distinction suggests (Appendix I to the first four Books of Elphinstone's *India*) as follows — "Most of the hymns are in a language so rugged as to prove that they were written before the formation of classical Sanskrit in which, though in an archaic state, some of the later poems are composed." Hence he infers that the earlier portions were the

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THE ARYAN
INVASION.

The Vedas.

SEC III
THE ARYAN
INVASION

*Their date un-
certain*

product of a state of society much ruder and earlier than what existed at the time when they were all put together in their present form. The result of an examination of the astronomic computations contained in the different books of the Veda is to bring down the date of their present form considerably below that assigned to the compilation by the Hindus themselves. For, while these place the work in the thirty-first century before the Christian era, modern scholars assign to them a date varying between the fourteenth to the eleventh. Lastly, we are informed in a note (p 248) that these ancient observations are too loose to allow of our drawing any conclusions from them without allowing a margin of several centuries. If this uncertainty attaches to the date of the Vedas, we are still less able to determine the date of the next important document. A second note by the editor of Elphinstone—the learned Professor Cowell—suggests that the code of Manu was more likely to have been produced in the third century B C than in the ninth, to which Elphinstone refers it. Hunter says that it was “current, probably, about the fifth century B C”, but afterwards states that the conclusions of the late Dr Burnell must, for the present, be accepted as authoritative, and Dr Burnell, after mature investigation, put the production of the code a thousand years later, “when the Bráhmánilal civilisation had begun to extend itself over the south of India”. The oldest Sanskrit manuscripts yet discovered are of about this date, viz, 500 A D.

Thus uncertain as to the dates of these two documents, we have to confine our attention to learning, from their contents, what may have been the laws and customs of the Aryans when they first arrived in India and what changes took place when they had settled in the country

As to the Veda, and the states of society which it discloses, we must remember that the Hindu Scripture consists of two distinct elements. The crude hymns referred to above are in a primitive dialect resembling that of the corresponding portion of the old Persic collection of sacred writings known as the *Avesta*. These hymns suggest fire-worship and sacred feasts at which some fermented and intoxicating liquor was drunk, they were probably learned by heart while the Aryans were still in their old abodes, and brought across the Himálaya in their first incursions. Later accretions, made after the people had been settled, show the supreme Godhead being transferred from the God of Fire to the God of Rain, and provide a calendar and ritual for the regulation of the worship of this (Indra) and other deities.

In the early portions of these writings a simple society is revealed, somewhat resembling that of the ancient Teutonic tribes of Europe. Caste in its modern sense, is unknown, each house-holder is the priest of his own family. A town is the enclosure of a camp of huts, the tribes are pastoral rather than agricultural, and cattle are the main source and form of wealth. The sexes are equal, in domestic life, and widow-burning

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INVASION

*The teaching
of the Vedic
hymns*

*Caste un-
known in
them*

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INVASION*Other institu-
tions described**The Vedic
worship and
gods*

(*Sati*) is unknown The people are shown slowly spreading eastward from the banks of the Indus, exterminating those of the earlier inhabitants who resist, and reducing the others to the condition of serfs and clients Their gods—called *devas*—are the evil demons of the *Avesta*, a strong confirmation of the supposition that religious differences were among the causes of their leaving their northern homes and seeking new settlements on the Indian side of the Himá-laya We know that Fire-worship was suppressed in Persia by *Spitáma*, the compiler of the *Avesta*, but whether that particular revolution caused a migration to the southward is beyond our knowledge

It has been suggested that their onward progress from a cold elevated region to one of a lower level and a drier climate would lead them to abandon their reverence for heat and to worship the Rain-God instead As they left the mountains the Aryans would find that warmth might be taken for granted, while they would depend upon a constant and abundant rainfall and full rivers for the very necessities of life As they went farther to the south-east, therefore, it was no longer needful—or even desirable—to propitiate the Fire-god, but prayers for water would often appear requisite And so the Heat-god (*Agni*) would gradually fade and the Rain-god (*Indra*) would take his place But, again, the Aryan columns advanced, as population increased, and a region was next reached where they found a copious supply of water from the two-fold source of the monsoons and of

great river-systems The cloud-collecting Indra then on his turn gave place in popular estimation to a triad of new powers more suited to a settled community among the vast forces of nature in the lower Gangetic valley. And thus the abstract idea of the Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer, the trine godhead of later Hinduism, took the place of the deities of the hymns

The later portions of the Veda are therefore of a more purely and more artificially sacrificial character than the ancient hymns, as they are composed in a more finished language. Slowly the race, as it multiplied and settled in fertile regions, grew into a nation, by and by the confederation of tribes broke up, and separate states were formed. Kings and hereditary families of chiefs arose to lead the tribes to battle, the great increase of the sacred texts and rituals required a special class for their preservation and observance, and the foundation was laid on which was to arise the powerful and long-enduring rule of CASTE.

From the hymns of the *Rig-veda* to the so-called "Code of Manu" a long interval is to be supposed. This is partly occupied by forms of Vedic or Vedantic literature, such as the *Bráhmaṇas*, or Codes of ritual, and the various philosophic and scientific treatises ending with the grammar of *Pāṇini*. The Code of Manu in its present form is an artificial treatise pre-

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INVASION.The Code
of Manu

* The Code of Manu is considered by Sanskrit scholars to derive its name not from Manu, the supposed author, but from the Manavas, a people by whom it was originally used.

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pared in comparatively recent times for the use of a Southern Rájá, and containing rather an ideal picture of society from a Bráhmaṇ's point of view than a code of positive law then actually existing. The object is to show society as a Bráhmaṇ would desire it to be, by asserting, or supposing a rigid marking off of the employment of each class or caste of the people, and by regulations for the maintenance of separation in marriage, eating, and social intercourse generally. Although this and the works that grew out of it have had the greatest influence in fixing the character of Hindu life and institutions, they probably show rather what was *not* than what *was* at the time when they were first made public. We may safely assume that the ideal represented was one that was perhaps growing up out of current events and social needs, but to whose complete fulfilment many facts were still opposed. We may be almost sure that the authors would not have assigned so much docility to the lower castes, or so much authority to the many orders of the higher, had those relations been already in full and unquestioned vigour. What they could do was to form a social picture drawn partly from their traditions of what had been and partly from their notions of what should be, and so cleverly put together that it was likely to be adopted in the future.

From other sources we know that the Bráhmaṇ supremacy had not always been admitted, and that the caste system, in marriage especially, had not been rigidly maintained. The Bráhmaṇ caste came into

*The fountain
of the
caste system*

existence first, for the sacred writings had grown so much in bulk and the worship of the gods had become so complicated from the introduction of new ceremonies that a separate order of men was required to explain the former and conduct the latter. Being the only teachers of sacred and secular learning, the Brāhmans became the ministers of the kings and chiefs as well as their directors in religious matters. In like manner the heads of the military society became *Kshattriyas* ("Protectors") the name comes from the old Persian where it meant "shelter," a sense still preserved in the Hindustānī word for an umbrella. In process of time as the Aryans became settled, the descendants of these military leaders degenerated into a hereditary aristocracy. The remainder of the Aryans were known as *Vaisyas* (from *Vīsa* 'a settlement') the word having the same meaning as the European term 'Citizen'. The fourth, or "once-born" class was formed of the friendly aborigines who had submitted to the Aryans and willingly entered their social system.

Although, in pursuance of their political and social objects, the Brāhmans may have made changes in adverse records and traditions, there are still traces in the older literature of violent struggles between the two higher classes for the rights of sacrifice which are always held in high esteem by a superstitious but simple people. It is even thought probable that the Kshattriya caste, or class, was entirely exterminated in the course of these contests, but it seems more

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probable that they were only driven out of the "middle-region" in what is now the North-West Provinces, and that settling in Rájputána they intermarried with other Aryan tribes who had come across the Indus and so founded the modern tribes of the *Rájputs*, or "sons of Rájás"

Of all the Aryans the Bráhmans alone, having maintained their separation from other races and consequent purity of blood, continued to be—as they still are—the representatives of the ancient northern invaders of India and of the founders of the social and religious system of the Hindus

Hence we may conclude that although the authors of the Code of Manu may have established the laws of caste and hereditary arts and crafts now so marked a feature of Indian life, the actual condition of fourfold division that they described was rather a memory of the past than an image of their own society. We proceed briefly to consider the few events in Hindu history that can be taken as at all established

Spread of
the Aryans

The Aryans were at first settled in the Panjáb. The Ganges—now the sacred river of the Hindus—was scarcely known to them. But, as they increased in number, they were constrained to increase the area of their settlements. To the south the way was blocked by the desert, and they naturally took the only remaining outlet towards the south-east. Crossing the Satlaj and the Saraswatí—a river which has since almost disappeared—they came to the fertile valley of the Ganges and settled in what they called the "Mid-

dle-land," now the North-West Provinces of British administration. Hence they proceeded further east and founded kingdoms in what are now known as Uthpá and Behar. It was from this latter region that the invasion of the Deccan took place, commemorated in the *Rámáyana*. The Dravidians whom they found established there, accepted the new-comers as friendly teachers and imbibed their civilisation. At this time the old Vedic speech had been developed in the hands of the priestly caste, until it had assumed the form called *Sanskrit*—i.e., "the perfected speech." A vernacular form of the language however was used in daily life, the Sanskrit remaining the language of religion and science, which was not taught to outsiders and appears never to have been a colloquial speech. It became, moreover, the sacred language of the Dravidians—as already mentioned—until they adopted the Buddhistic reformation.

The era of that movement is not free from the uncertainty pertaining to all Hindu chronology nor is it even agreed who and what was its originator, or when he lived. According to the most moderate native estimates the Buddha died B C 543. The latest European researches fix his death B C 477. Some have even doubted whether he ever existed at all, and the earliest date in the history of the movement that is really certain is the great council of Patna convened by King Asoka in B C 244. "The Buddhism of Southern Asia practically dates from Asoka's Council" is Hunter's summary. It is unnecessary to recite the

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tic reforma-
tion.**Asoka's Coun-
cil B C 244*

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mythical history of the reformer, or to state his particular doctrines, for they have long ceased to have any direct influence on the people of India, though widely spread in other parts of the eastern world. It will here suffice to notice that Buddhism arising among opponents of Brahmanism in some northerly region of India, and availing itself of the vernacular languages, spread rapidly, penetrated into the Deccan, became the State religion in the third century B. C., and was finally overthrown by a new form of Bráhmánism after prevailing for about a thousand years. During this long period the Brahmans never entirely lost their influence and when, by the process of adopting the current superstitions and practices of the common people, they succeeded in recovering the supremacy, some sort of compromise was effected by virtue of which some parts of the Buddhistic creed were admitted into the Hindu system.

We know from the passing glances of India obtained by the Macedonians of the fourth and third centuries before Christ, that the modern Hindu system was not then fully developed, but that its main principles were already in operation.

The last, but not the least important, of the evidences of the social state of the mediæval Aryans is to be found in the dramatic writings of the period between the first century B. C., and the tenth century A. D. From these two sources together a picture of social life and manners may be composed which will be less vague and more accurate than anything derived from

*The evidence
of the early
dramatic writ-
ings*

the Vedic writings or the so-called "Codes"

In concluding this chapter it may be well to draw attention to the fact that, apart from chronology, there is no historical certainty of any kind, in regard to any part of India or any Indian population, before the invasion of the Panjáb by Alexander of Macedon, commonly called "the Great." The Hindu thinkers in those days were given to science and apt for all sorts of speculation, but they took but little heed of concrete facts. Perhaps a certain love of the marvelous, and desire to give to all that they describe a heroic scale of proportions, may have been the chief cause of this, perhaps a love of abstract reasoning and a conviction of the deceitfulness of the world of matter may have also had something to do with their scorn of facts and figures

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*Alexander's
invasion the
first historical
date
known*

CHAPTER II

*HINDUS BEFORE THE MUSLIM CONQUEST***Section I —India as described by the Greeks and
by the Hindu Dramatists—The Era of Asoka**

The Rise
of Bud-
dhism

Not only has the personal existence of the alleged founder of Buddhism been denied, but some scholars have gone so far as to deny the existence of Buddhism itself as a separate religious system opposed to Bráhma-
manism. According to this school Buddhism is but a development of the Sánkhyá philosophy as taught by the sage Kápila—a sort of atheistic materialism, which had to gather round some hero of fable before it could take possession of the masses. However it began, Buddhism before the time of Asoka was no more than a Hindu sect, as Sikhism and other denominations have been since. Another sect of the same kind was Jainism whose professors—under the name of Saráwaks—are still to be found among the people of Hindustán. The claims of both to popular favour were that they rejected the fetters of Caste, and preached social deliverance and spiritual freedom to all mankind. The Jains had a system of hero-worship, but they did not entirely reject the authority of the Hindu scriptures. The Buddhist, without openly attacking Brahmanism, secretly weakened the influence of Bráhmans,

denying the sacred character of the Vedas and resting man's hopes upon his own conduct without need of ritual or priestly mediation. Consequently the one ultimately disappeared while the other survived.

It was on such a state of society that European observers first directed their attention towards the end of the fourth century B. C. Alexander of Macedon, having conquered Persia and marched through what are now the provinces of Russian Túrkestan and Afghánistán, crossed the Indus at Attock, early in B. C. 327. He found the Panjáb divided into a number of petty States, jealous of each other to a degree which kept them from uniting to oppose his progress. On the banks of the Jehlam, however, he was encountered by a considerable native army under a local Rájá whose name the Greeks wrote as "Porus." Him Alexander overthrew near the scene of the modern battle of Chilianwala. But the victory proved barren. The Macedonian army marched, indeed, a little further but on the banks of the Beás Alexander was compelled to halt by the inclemency of the season and the murmurs of his men. He then returned to the Jehlam and left the Panjab to follow the course of the Indus to the sea. Four years later he died at Babylon, leaving his conquests in the north and south of the Himálaya to one of his Generals, named Seleucus.

But although the Macedonian power was not confirmed in Hindustán some influence was nevertheless extended into the country. A soldier of fortune named Chandra Gupta having escaped from Macedonia

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Alexander's invasion B. C. 327.

Chandra Gupta's Kingdom of Magadha

SEC I

INDIA AS DESCRIBED BY THE GREEKS AND BY THE HINDU DRAMATISTS — ACT OF ASOKA

War with Seleucus B C 312

The works of Megasthenes and Strabo

camp collected a number of followers by whose aid he ultimately established himself as ruler of the Province of Magadha—now Behár—where he made his capital at Patná and gradually extended his empire over Northern India. His kingdom bordered on that of Seleucus in B C 312. At first they fought, but ere-long a treaty was concluded in which the Indian chief had the advantage, so far as territory was concerned. Anxious to consolidate his power in the west, Seleucus undertook to cede the Greek possessions in the Panjáb to Chandra Gupta, who at the same time espoused the Greek King's daughter and agreed to receive a Greek envoy as Resident at his Court.

The grandson of Chandra Gupta and his European wife was Asoka, whose establishment of Buddhism as the State Church of Upper India marks the second certain date in Indian History. Of the state of society at the Court of these kings and of Hindu customs in the third century B C we get some glimpses through fragments of a lost work by Megasthenes, the Macedonian ambassador who resided there, as also from the writings of somewhat later Greek writers of whom the best is the geographer Strabo. From these we learn that Buddhism was in a feeble condition, even in the land where it professes to have had its origin. The only allusion to its existence made in the fragments of the ambassador is in his description of the various orders of sages and sophists, among whom the Buddhist teachers are thought to be included. Nor is it probable that any further account of

the sect can have been given in the portions of the work which have been lost, for the remaining fragments contain the report in which it must have been described, if at all. The only possible inference is that the Buddhists were not at that time distinctly prominent or regarded as hostile to the system of the Bráhmaas, and that their sect could not have been very long in existence. Megasthenes gives otherwise a very favourable character of the Hindus observing that they were brave, honest, and truthful, while slavery was unknown amongst them.

But, although he wished to describe it faithfully, the Macedonian ambassador was not quite able to understand the complicated society before him, and it is only by the dangerous process of reading his report through the glasses of modern experience that we have a possibility of even conjecturing what may have been the real state of things. It would seem that the fourfold division of the community described in the *Shastras* really did exist at this period, but that, besides the Bráhmaas, there were other orders of priests and monks, and it is amongst these that the Buddhists are supposed to have been referred to. As to Government, the empire of Magadha appears to have been a federal union of a great number of independent kingdoms and principalities, of which Megasthenes heard that there were 118 towns and villages had self-government, and were called by the Greeks "republics." For war large armies were kept on foot, including chariots and fighting elephants, but it was

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Description of the Hindus by Megasthenes

Nature of Government

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ACT OF ASOKA

The revenue

characteristic of the mild and humane habits prevalent that the husbandmen were allowed to continue the pursuits of agriculture among the contending armies. The soldiers were brave, and the police must either have been very efficient or very little required if we may credit the report that in the camp of the Emperor among 400,000 persons the sums stolen daily did not amount to the equivalent of thirty rupees. In the matter of justice the ruler had assessors, but the Greek observers knew of no written laws. The revenue was chiefly derived from land as to which the theory was—as indeed it long continued to be—that its produce was to be used for the common good. The land belonged to the king, as we are told by the Greek geographer Strabo, and this can easily be understood that is to say, there were no private owners and the whole of the net produce went to meet the wants of the community. It seems to have been estimated that this net produce amounted to a quarter of the total yield, the remaining three-fourths being left for the support of the husbandman and the replacement of stock and seed. In towns the artisans paid their taxes in the form of labour, stated in the *Laws of Manu* as one day in every month. Villages and towns alike were governed by the revenue officer in each. The use of brick and stone in building is not mentioned, and it is probable that the efforts of architecture were limited to structures of timber, fortified cities being protected by earthen ramparts. In other respects the manners of the people were

much what they are still, their habit of eating and cooking, each sect apart from all others, is particularly noticed they used but little fermented liquor, they were temperate in all things and—for all their military courage—lovers of peace

Such are the accounts, superficial perhaps but those of an eye-witness, which Megasthenes and other European writers give of the ancient Hindus. Of the pictures presented in the Hindu drama we can only say that they are painted from a far deeper knowledge of the people—did we only know to what exact period they refer. On the whole it may be safest to infer that these works were produced during a long space of time, perhaps from near the epoch of Asoka to the eve of the first Muslim conquest. During this long period—longer than the interval between the Heptarchy and the England of to-day—it would seem that Hindu manners and institutions underwent but little change except for the rise and fall of Buddhism. One interesting feature, common to the plays, is that, while the heroes and great personages use a high-flown sort of colloquial Sanskrit, the servants and people of humble rank are represented as speaking a debased dialect tending towards the style of the modern vernaculars. In another respect, however, an important difference is observable in the various works. While the *Toy-Cart*, which is supposed to be the earliest in date exhibits a state of manners not unlike what existed in the Grecian provinces of Europe and of Asia Minor, the *Mudra-Rakshasa*—

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INDIA AS DESCRIBED BY THE GREEKS AND BY THE HINDU DRAMATISTS —
AGE OF ASOKA

The early Hindu drama.

<p>Src I</p> <p>INDIA AS DESCRIBED BY THE GREEKS AND BY THE HINDU DRAMATISTS — AGE OF ASOKA</p>	<p>which is the latest—shows an approximation to the social habits of modern India. In the former drama women play a conspicuous part, moving freely in society. The hero is a married man, the heroine is a lady of the courtesan class whose love is sought by a profligate prince, whose addresses she refuses out of love for the hero. In the latter, women never come on the scene, and their only share in the plot is confined to the thrusting of hands beyond the curtain behind which they are secluded. In all of them the dependents of the aristocracy are kindly treated, and the opinion of the Greeks as to the absence of slavery is fully confirmed.</p>
<p>The reign</p> <p>of Asoka</p>	<p>About the middle of the third century B. C. the Empire of which Magadha was the central power was ruled—as already stated—by the grandson of Chandra Gupta and his European wife. Our knowledge of this ruler—who was named Asoka—is not very complete, but—so far as it goes—is of unusual precision owing to the large number of inscriptions, or stone-engraved edicts, which he set up in various parts of the country. We learn from these firstly, that Asoka's authority was owned over the whole of Upper India from the Himálaya region to the Vindhya range, and from the boundaries of Bengal to the shores of Kathiwará. We find, further, that he established Buddhism, of whose ministers and teachers he convoked a great council, B. C. 244. We also learn that he must have flourished at the time assigned as he mentions as his allies Antiochus II., Antigonus Gonatas, and other</p>
<p>B. C. 244</p>	

Greek rulers of that age Tradition asserts that Asoka—or Priya Dás, as he calls himself in the edicts—set up over 80,000 of these monuments, only forty-two are now known to exist, but they are found in the country above Pesháwar and in Garjáṁ, in the hills north of Dehra and at Jabalpur, and they are in various characters and dialects Their date is supposed to be 244 B C, so that it may be fairly concluded that an Empire of all India north of the Narbadá and the Mahánadī was really in existence about that time

The contents of these wide-spread documents are creditable alike to the character of the monarch by whom they were issued and to that of the people for whose guidance they were intended It appears from them that Asoka was not satisfied with caring for the Hindu populations, he also provided for the teaching of the aboriginal tribes throughout his empire, nor did he neglect the more material interest of his subjects The inscriptions set forth that the Emperor sent missionaries “to the utmost limits of the barbarian countries to intermingle with all unbelievers for the spread of religion” He also provided roads and medical attendance while taking care for the purity of the faith among those to whom it was already known, and his vernacular version of the Buddhist scriptures has continued to form a sacred canon for twenty centuries “In this way,” says Hunter, “the Magadhī dialect became the Páli, or sacred language, of Ceylon” The edicts prohibit the slaughter of animals, whether for sacrifice or for food they mention the

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INDIA AS DESCRIBED BY THE GREEKS AND BY THE HINDU DRAMATISTS — AGE OF ASOKA.

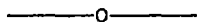
Asoka's pillar or stone engraved edicts.

Sec I

INDIA AS DE-
SCRIBED BY
THE GREEKS
AND BY THE
HINDU DRA-
MATISTS —
AGE OF
ASOKA

appointment of guardians of morality they proclaim equality of rank among all believers, and they earnestly inculcate the practice of virtue and kindness to others

That Asoka's ideas were completely carried out is not asserted. But the fact that he entertained them is sufficient to show a pleasing and very considerable level of civilisation in a remote period and in a country which has not always been distinguished for this merit in more recent times. To the age of Asoka modern Hindus might well look back as to a golden time



Section 2 —The Hindu Kingdoms from Asoka to the eve of the Muslim conquest

*There was no
Empire, but
only several
separate king-
doms*

It has now been made clear to us that ancient India is only to be seen by passing glimpses, but each of these suggests a great persistence of numerous independent States only occasionally bound by a loose federal connection, or brought—in the language of the *Purānas*—"under one umbrella". It is true that a claim to Indian Empire has been found advanced in the inscriptions of other princes after the time of Asoka, but the grounds of such claims are not conceded by the most careful modern historians, excepting perhaps to the Kanauj empire of the seventh century A D

The family to which Asoka belonged ruled in Magadha for seven more generations. About the times of

the Christian era that power ceased, and Magadha was held by a dynasty known as "Andhras" who are mentioned by Plinius, or Pliny, a Roman writer of the second century A D The extent of their dominion is uncertain, but we know from the evidence of coins and inscriptions that it did not extend to Upper Hindustán or the Panjáb countries which were ruled by chiefs owing allegiance to the Greek Kings of Bactria Some of these successors of Seleucus followed the usual path of northern warriors by crossing the Himálaya and settling in the Panjáb They appear to have even found their way as far as the Jumna, some of the coins of the later kings of this dynasty having been found at Muttra. Certain tribes of the Tartars overthrew this power in the middle of the second century B C, after which Kanishka, a so-called "Scythian" King, established Buddhism in Upper India and held a great council about A D 40 It is believed by modern writers that the centre of his power was in Kashmir, but that his rule extended from Yarkand to Agra and to Sindh The advance of this power towards the south is sometimes stated to have been arrested by Vikrama, commonly called Bikramájit, a king of Ujjain, in commemoration of which exploit was instituted the "Sambat" era still used in Northern India, and dating from B C 57, but this, again, is doubtful Another popular era, used in the west of India, is called "Saka" or Scythian, and dates from A D 78 Its founder is supposed to have been Saliváhaná, a king, or chief, in that region Other kingdoms existed, as in Bengal, and in the country of

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KINGDOMS
FROM ASOKA
TO THE FIVE
OF THE
MUSLIM
CONQUEST.

Kanishka

Vikrama

*The Sambat
era B C 57*

*The Saka or
Scythian era
A D 78.*

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THE HINDU
KINGDOMS
FROM ASOKA
TO THE FIVE
OF THE
MUSLIM
CONQUEST

*The Chalukya
tribe*

which Kanauj was the centre which was then known as Panchala, the coins of the Gupta kings of Kanauj show that they reigned in the Gangetic valley from the fourth to the seventh or eighth centuries of the Christian era. Dehli, then called Indraprastha, was the seat of a Ráj which was overthrown, towards the end of the period now under review, by the Rájputs of Ajmere. The Persians under Naoshirwán (A. D. 531 to 579) overthrew another Rájput dynasty in Gujarát, who are believed to have emigrated to the eastward and founded the still existing principality of Mewár (Udaipur). Another Rájput tribe—the Chálukya—penetrated into the Deccan, where they founded a Ráj whose capital was at Kalyani about 33 miles east of the modern city of Bombay.

The history of the remainder of the Deccan is less vague, though scarcely more important. Of its early inhabitants we have already made mention. The main divisions of the people seem to be marked out by the prevalence of the different tongues called "Dravidian." The original Dravida seems to have been the southern country where Tamil is spoken, and perhaps was the first seat of the Deccan civilisation. The Karnáta or Canarese country is immediately to the south of this, and is bounded on the west by Goa and Kolhápúr. Talingána, or the Telugu country, lies to the east of the last-mentioned. The remaining spaces of the Deccan are filled, on the eastward by the Orissa country, the land of the Uriya language, and to the west by the country of the Maráthas who speak a

dialect of southern Hindi In the middle is Gondwána, long given over to an aboriginal tribe

The ancient Tamil kingdoms were two, that of Pándya, the Pandion of the Greeks and Romans, occupying what are now the districts of Madura and Inneveli and that of Chola, which was more extensive and formed the rest of the Tamil country The capital of the former was Madura, of the latter the city of Kánci, now called by Europeans Conjevaram The Canarese country, fabled to have been miraculously recovered from the sea by the Bráhma hero Parasu Rám, appears to have been really settled by Hindu immigrants at an early date of the Christian era Towards the eleventh century it was annexed to a powerful Rájput kingdom which included many other districts and later on became the famous Hindu kingdom of Vijáyanagar Of the Rájputs of Kalyáni mention has been already made they possessed at one time the whole of what has been since known as Maháráshttra, and they are famous for having been ruled, in the eleventh century A D, by a genuine Vikrama at whose court was produced the celebrated *Mitákshara*, a code of civil law now accepted by all Hindus out of Bengal, and administered to this day by British tribunals These Chálukya Rájás also originated a very beautiful school of architecture whose monuments are found even north of the Narbadá Telingána to the eastward became a powerful kingdom under a race of Rájás believed to have been connected with the Andhras of Magadha, who were succeeded,

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*Ancient
Tamil
Kingdoms*

*The Kalyáni
Rájputs*

*The Miták
shara, eleventh
century A D.*

Telingána

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THE HINDU
KINGDOMS
FROM ASOKA
TO THE EVE
OF THE
MUSLIM
CONQUEST*The Ganpati
dynasty in the
tenth century
A D**Orissa**The Maratha
country*

about the sixth century A D, by a dynasty called Yávana, which may possibly indicate a foreign conquest. In the tenth century a Hindu dynasty known as Ganpati succeeded and founded Warangal which long continued the capital. It is 86 miles north-east of the modern Haiderábád, and still contains four gateways which once led to a grand Shivaite temple. The kingdom of Orissa is also said to have been overrun by Yávana invaders from the north, who were finally expelled by the Kesari family, A D 473. These in turn were overthrown by Bengali Hindus about the eleventh century, under whom the country was prosperous and formidable for a hundred years. Of the ancient inhabitants of the Marátha country we have no record, save what is furnished by their magnificent rock-cut temples, but these suggest—in the language of Elphinstone—"a great and long continued application of skill and power." The ruling race was of Rájput blood and the capital was ultimately the strongly situated fortress of Deogiri.

Such is a summary of the few facts known, from coins, inscriptions, and ancient western writers, of the state of the country in the long period between the empire of Asoka and the early invasions of the Northern Muslims. The Hindus have not cared to preserve historical annals—save in the form of the *Royal Chronicle* of Kashmir. The only other books bearing on the subject are accounts of their journeys by Chinese travellers.

Buddhism became an established creed in China

about A D 65, and India, being recognised as the cradle of that creed, became a Holy Land to which it was a pious duty to make pilgrimage and study sacred writings and traditions on the spot. Of the recollections and observations of these pious travellers only two records have been made known to European students, the narrative of Fa-Hian who travelled in India in the beginning of the fifth century A D, and the itinerary of Huen Tsiang who went there more than two hundred years later. Professor Cowell points out the value of these writings, "they are almost our only stepping-stones through a thousand years of fable" (*Elph App IX*). The account of the earlier traveller is only useful, however, in a minor and relative degree. It is of a purely religious character, but when it is compared with the more copious and intelligent relation of the other we are able to see the decay of Buddhism, and to form some idea of the way in which the Bráhmans recovered their ascendancy.

At the time of Huen Tsiang's visit India was divided, we are told, into seventy minor kingdoms, but Síladitya, King of Kanauj, had established a kind of supreme power over the whole of Upper India. In the Deccan was a formidable nation of warriors under a Rája of the Kshattíya class, whose capital is supposed to have been Paithan on the Upper Godávari, once the seat of Saliváhaná, the founder of the Saka era (A D. 77). Málwá was a great seat of learning, but here, as elsewhere the Buddhist establishments were less numerous than they had formerly been and the colleges

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*Buddhism in
China about
A D 65*

*Chinese tra-
vellers*

*Description of
India by Huen
Tsiang*

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and temples of the Bráhmans were becoming numerous as also were the bodies of fanatics and religious mendicants by whom Hinduism has always been infested. In Kapilavastha—which was the legendary cradle of Buddha and his creed—the royal city was in ruins, as were a thousand monasteries. In the neighbouring kingdom of Benares there were 10,000 heretics, followers of Shiva mostly going naked or clothed in a paste made of the ashes of burnt cowdung, in the city itself were twenty temples, and a brazen statue of Shiva, nearly 100 feet in height. Siládatiya, the powerful Northern Rájá, was still a Buddhist in the time of Huen Tsiang, a Buddhist ruled in what is known as Afghánistán. But these monarchs were tolerant, not to say favourable to other religions, Brahmans and Buddhists met in councils, statues of Buddha and Shiva met with equal honour, Siládatiya feasted all religious persons without distinction. At a period not very much later the great College of Sárnáth, near Benares, was destroyed by fire but on the whole Buddhism appears to have been a recognised faith down to the eighth or ninth century A D and to have died rather from inability to compete with a more popular rival than from actual persecution or physical violence.

*Picture of
Indian life*

The whole picture of Indian life from the time of Asoka to the eve of the Muslim conquest is pleasing, and justifies the esteem in which the people were held by contemporaneous Europeans. Whether under the waning influences of Buddhism, or under the rising system of Modern Hinduism, the Indian races

were humane, learned and polite, living in small self-ruled communities, but not unwilling to own the direction of an Emperor, or Lord Paramount whenever it was necessary to resist a common enemy or provide for a common need. But in general the unity was more religious than political, and India suffered accordingly, being without a common leader when the Muslim invaders came down. How modern Hinduism gradually prevailed, so that Buddhism disappeared from the land of its birth, will be more fully shown when we come to notice the *Purānas*, in the later development of Sanskrit literature. The system there embodied will again shew Bráhmānism absorbing into itself the elements of other religions as it did in the time of Śīlāditya, in virtue of which not only did Buddhism leave its mark upon the Indian intellect, but the darker and more inhuman superstitions of the indigenous savages were also incorporated, to the detriment of the national character but to the great helping of the movement. It was, doubtless, by the combination of what was most efficacious in Buddhism with what was most popular in Polytheism that the Bráhmans were enabled to recommend to the people a religious faith which in its purer form they would have rejected, as it had already been allowed to decay by their fathers. In spite of all that is said in the Sanskrit texts against intermarriage it is almost certain that extensive intermarriage had once prevailed between the conquered populations and the tribes of the Aryans—excepting perhaps the Bráhmans, who

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Buddhism gradually displaced by modern Hinduism.

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maintained their exclusivism better and so preserved much of the purity of their blood. It is indeed quite conceivable that even the Bráhmans must originally have been thrown upon the native community for wives, for the earlier invaders would not be likely to bring many high-caste women with them over the steep and snowy passes of the Himálaya. The ancient marriage code, says Hunter, allowed unions of men of the higher castes with women of the lower and their offspring had a social status quite distinct from that of children born of concubines. An old commentary of the Veda enumerates 159 castes, most of them distinguished by the relations between the parents of families. Religion, language, manners, all reflected the amalgamation and the people embraced a common social system though under many governments



Section 3 —Ancient Indian literature and the rise of the modern Hindu System

The original language of the founders of Hindu literature and civilisation was a form of the old Aryan speech nearly allied to the old Persian or Zend. In this were composed the hymns which the simple shepherds addressed to the gods who represented to them the forces of nature. As the people settled, first on the skirts of the Himálaya, and then in the Gangetic valley, these hymns became numerous, complicated forms of worship grew up round them, and a professional priesthood arose who had nothing to do but to

commit these to memory and enrich them with commentaries. The hymns continued to be in metrical form, but we have no means of knowing how long they continued to be preserved in memory alone, or when they were first committed to writing. The final organisation of the language, in the form known as Sanskrit, is attributed to Páṇini, who is commonly supposed to have written, B C 350, but there is no Sanskrit manuscript of that date, and the earliest use of letters that is known with certainty is about B C 250, when Asoka's inscriptions were engraved. These inscriptions are in two different characters, those in the northern regions being in letters of a foreign origin, while the alphabet employed in the south is of a kind believed to have been used by the natives. The language used however is not Sanskrit, but usually the dialect of vernacular Indian speech known as Páli, which (as already observed) became in consequence the sacred language of the Buddhists. It is also believed to have been the fountain from which are derived all the various vernaculars of India north of the Nerbada, and that of the Marátha country. The classical language thus falling into the hands of the priesthood while the vernaculars were generally adopted by heretics and reformers, the Sanskrit grew more and more artificial, and the overthrow of Buddhism was contemporaneous with an outburst of Sanskrit literature of all sorts—chiefly poetry—which went on until the great anarchy and the subsequent rise of British power.

Excepting its weakness in the department of History,

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Sanskrit language organised by Panini about B C. 350

Asoka's pillars Cnc B C. 250 are inscribed in Pali

SFC III.	Sanskrit literature has embraced almost every branch
ANCIENT INDIAN LI TERATURE AND THE RISE OF THE HIN DU SYSTEM	of art and mental science Besides Grammars and Lexicons it produced numerous works on arithmetic, algebra, astronomy, music, medicine, and surgery. Besides the domestic dramas already mentioned, the
Sanskrit Literature	works of Kálidasa—probably as late as the 3rd century A D —are still admired, especially <i>Sakuntalá</i> which has
<i>Sakuntala</i>	been translated by Sir W Jones and praised by Goethe
	But it is above all in the direction of epic and idyllic poetry that the writers of Sanskrit have been most suc- cessful The <i>Mahábhárata</i> and <i>Rámáyana</i> contain
<i>Mahábhárata</i> and <i>Rama</i> <i>yana</i>	ancient rhapsodies on the mythic history of India, ex- panded by later additions, until the former has assumed the portentous dimensions of 220,000 lines or more than
	thirteen times the bulk of the <i>Iliad</i> its primary subject is the war between two tribes of Aryans in the Panjab,
	though three-fourths of the work as we now have it are devoted to mythology and discourses on other subjects
	The <i>Rámáyana</i> —which more than any other book now takes the place of a Bible with the mass of Hindus—
	is thought to be an allegory founded on the spread of Aryan civilisation in the Deccan as now existing
	it is looked upon as the work of a comparatively recent period, not earlier than the Christian era Of a
<i>The Megha</i> <i>duta</i>	still later day and more elaborate style are the <i>Megha-</i> <i>duta</i> , or, "Cloud-Messenger," a beautiful idyll in
	which a swain seeks to communicate with his distant mistress with thoughts and images of great beauty ;
<i>The Gita Go</i> <i>vinda</i>	and the <i>Gita-Govinda</i> , a pastoral reminding Euro- pean readers of the "Canticle" of the Hebrew Scrip-

ture In several eloquent paragraphs Elphinstone has done justice to the wealth of language and direct observation of scenery which mark these works (Bk III Ch VII)

A different branch of literature is found in the law-books of the Hindus The oldest of these, the *Dharma Shāstra* or "Code of Manu" has been already mentioned, it is supposed to have taken its present form about A D 500 Somewhat later is the code ascribed to Yājñavalkya, which is more precise and minute in its directions and gives indications of the rising power of the Brahmans

These codes, as Hunter observes, deal with civil and domestic rights and duties and the administration of justice, besides a ceremonial of purification and penance for offences against Brahmans and against the caste system The last part is now obsolete, but the law of civil rights and, to a great extent, its application and administration, are still in force under the British Government, and the original sanctions of conscience and public opinion are enforced by the power of a great modern State

The foundation of all primitive Aryan law is the patriarchal family, and the principles of succession have arisen out of views on the future welfare of a deceased father and the benefits to be conferred upon his spirit by the sons to whom his authority passes Hence property cannot be left to any one by will, and, so far at least as ancestral property is concerned it must follow religiously established rules and principles For

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*The Dharma
Shastra*

The law of
succession

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the root-idea of such legal systems is that law is a kind of necessity arising out of the will of God and the constitution of a chosen people

The basis of Hindu laws of succession is to be found in the *Rigveda*, as shown in the hymns to what the Romans called "Manes," or souls of ancestors. Each family was supposed to have a commemorative day on which the fore-fathers were summoned by the offering of simple forms of food—chiefly cakes of flour—and were supposed to hallow the feast by an unseen presence. And this food could only be offered when the inheritors of the estate had provided for the repose of the last departed father by performing his funeral rites according to the customs of the tribe or family. The sacrificing heirs were originally the descendants in the male line, what the Romans called "Agnates." Traces of priestly influence appear from the first not only are unbelieving descendants to be excluded but also those who had availed themselves of the legal but improper practice of taking their share of the estate during the father's life-time and against his will. The participators in the *Srāddha*—as the ceremony was called—became known as *Sapindas* or "communicants", and in process of time there came to be *Sapindas* on the maternal side, and cognates came to share with agnates as inheritors.

The Sraddha ceremony

The maturing of this system is a turning-point in Hindu social history. But other writings remain to be noticed which in the later Post-Vedic period accompanies the Re birth of Hinduism of which they are at once

a consequence and a cause These are the *Purānas* of which we may never learn the exact date, but can safely assume the position in relation to other systems The law-books, indeed, had claimed a religious character some sage being supposed to impart a commentary on the sacred text of the *Veda* which should supply any vacancies which the weakness of man's intellect might find in its precepts. But this may be regarded as little more than a pious fraud, or what in modern language would be called "legal fiction" the code being supposed to express the divine will it was necessary to suppose also the authority of a divine legislator

But, in the case of the *Purānas*, a direct revelation was required to oppose the scarcely veiled human origin of Buddhism and philosophic heresy The Scriptures of the Hindu revival are eighteen in number, and all are ascribed to Vyāsa, the legendary editor of the *Vedas*, and, himself, of course, an incarnation of the Godhead In reality they are modern and mediæval compositions of which the earlier may be a thousand years old or even a little older They contain accounts of the creation not only of the World but of Heaven and its inhabitants, philosophic speculations and directions for offering sacrifices, fragments of genealogy and history, and monstrous mythologic legends Being produced at various times, for various ends, they abound in inconsistencies and give to modern Hinduism a character which has distinguished it among civilised systems

The three great persons of the Hindu Trinity were

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The Purānas.

The Hindu
Trinity.

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DU SYSTEM*Brahma**Shiva**Vishnu*

to have been Brahma, Shiva, and Vishnu, in whom we may perhaps discover the successors of an earlier and less material Triad. Of these three the first was never much more than a symbol, he is named by Manu and may be taken as an expression of supreme but inactive Godhead, a Deity who may have originated all things, an uncaused cause, but whose work is now over. But in Shiva we can not fail to recognise a composite creation, the fusion of the Vedic Storm-God with some portentous demon of the aborigines. In him have full play those wilder elements usually hidden under the self-controlled exterior of the Hindu character. Shiva is represented as roaming about, half intoxicated, wearing a necklace of human skulls, with other attributes far removed from philosophic calm or the older purity of the Vedic Aryans. Vishnu on the other hand, is the application of an old name for the sun to a number of alleged incarnations in which divinity is attributed to various demigods and heroes. By these means the Brahmans wove the web of Hinduism on the basis of popular superstition, and so outbid their competitors that, in spite of their using the sacred language, they completely ousted the more abstract and pure tenets of the Buddhists.

Nevertheless some parts of metaphysic Buddhism, and some of its practical principles, continued to adhere to the new religion. Buddhism had been affected by the Sankhya School if not actually founded upon it and this much of Buddhism is still existent in Hinduism, together with the doctrine of transmi-

Modern Hinduism has borrowed from other creeds

gration and the scrupulous regard for animal life. The followers of Vishnu even represent Buddha as having been one of the incarnations of their favourite deity, and it has been said that their rules of religious life are but fragments of Buddhist precept enforced by Bráhmaṇ reasoning. In addition to this Hinduism has borrowed elements from the creeds of the devil-worshipping aborigines whom it was the interest of the Bráhmaṇs to conciliate, in doing which they perhaps imitated their less successful competitors, the Buddhists. Fragments of tree-and-serpent-worship are still apparent in the religious practice of the Hindus and the veneration of the *Sálagram* (a fossil ammonite from the Hills) and of the *Tulsi*-plant (*Ozimum Sanctum* or "sweet basil") are regarded as a survival of still older form of nature worship.

Another cause which has contributed to the growth of modern Hinduism is its power of again absorbing the reforming sects which have from time to time grown out of it. This is the more remarkable because those sects—of which Sikhism is the latest and most influential—have generally aimed at the obliteration of those caste-distinctions which form so marked a peculiarity of the Hindu scheme of thought and life. Most of the modern sects have attempted to combine the equality of men with the power of God. But the Hindu Church has contrived to take into itself the teachers of these new doctrines and to represent them as apostles or saints or even incarnations of

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*Modern
Hinduism
absorbed
reforming
sects*

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the Godhead As a return for such hospitality the disciples of the schemes of reform have usually been content to ignore the particular doctrines disapproved by the Bráhmans or at any rate not to publish them openly The Sikhs alone held out for centuries but it is clear that Sikhism was originally more of a political than a religious scheme, and, now that the Sikhs in common with all other sects have accepted the rule of the English who do not seek to make converts to their faith as their predecessors the Mughals did, it seems that Sikhism is losing its aggressive and distinctive character

The *Purānas* extend down to the period that witnessed the Muslim conquests in Upper India The *Vishnu Purāna* is dated about the middle of the eleventh century A D, and, whatever works may have been issued by later writers, this work is the last work of the school which established Bráhmanism as a religious system It embodies narrative statements which have the appearance of being founded on ancient and not wholly untrue traditions it is conceived in the interest of the Bráhman caste, and espouses the supremacy of Vishnu The system so enforced, being made popular by later teachers of more tolerant and eclectic ideas, became the foundation of a school which employed the colloquial idioms of Northern India and took a firm hold of the mass of the people in those wide regions

Sanskrit literature loses its sacred character soon after the establishment of the Muslim powers in Hindustán In the Deccan it had already been superseded by Tamil, in consequence—as already noted—of the necessity

*The Vishnu
Purana about
1100 A D*

*Decay of
Sanskrit*

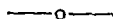
under which the Bráhmans in those regions found themselves of appealing to the masses in a language that was popular and generally understood. We shall have occasion, hereafter, to notice the general effect of the Muslim conquests in modifying the character and habits of the Indian populations, a forecast of which we have already noticed in speaking of the *Mudra-Rakshasa*, the latest of the productions of the ancient Hindu theatre. Here we find the Hindu women for the first time secluded from the world, and a passage in the play distinctly refers to foreign invasion, and the hope of delivery through the agency of native princes. Under the Mughal Emperors the Hindus adopted the study of Persian, and a new vernacular

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The 3rd vol. of Mr. Fleet's *Corpus inscript Indic* contains matter which—with other documents elsewhere recorded—goes to prove the existence of a polished society and a body of poetic literature, in Sanskrit and in Prakrit, in the first five centuries of the Christian era. The date, in particular, of the celebrated Kālidāsa is now brought with some confidence to about 270 A. D. Looking back to the second century of that era, when barbarians were settling in the Panjab and pushing their encroachments to the southward, we see that a classical style of writing prevailed which, so far from suffering from these incursions, threw its spell over the invaders themselves. It further appears that the doubts as to the Era of Vikramāditya are unfounded, that computation being shown to have been in use as far back, at least, as the 5th century when it was known as "the Malava era." A detailed study of the style of these compositions, compared with the poetic canons laid down by the critics and with the workmanship of the epics and earlier poems, would throw light on the history and growth of the language and its literature. [See art. by Prof. Tawney, in the *Calcutta Review* for April, 1891, (No. 184)]

cular sprung up, in which Persian words and phrases were admitted, the Persian script, or character being generally adopted when it was used in writing Sanskrit long continued, however, to be the learned language of the Bráhmans



CHAPTER III.

MUSLIM CONQUESTS IN INDIA

Section I.—Condition of Muslims and Hindus at the time of the conquest. From Mahmud of Ghazni to Shahab-ud-din, or Muhamad-Bin-Sam. of Gur.

The dynasty of Persia descended from Naoshirwán was overthrown by the first Muslim conquerors in a ten years' war ending A D 642. The civil government and the religious system were equally worn out, and the whole country soon became Musalmán. On the south-east of Persia lay a wild and mountainous country inhabited chiefly by races of Tartar origin, and known anciently as Gur, or, as more usually spelt by European writers, Ghor. Further to the east lay another range of hills taking its name from the capital, Ghazní, a city nearly eight thousand feet above sea-level about the early inhabitants of this district even less is known than about those of Gur. South of this was Mekrán, another hilly tract but bordered southward by the sea. To the immediate east of Persia were the lands of Balkh and what is now called Afghán Turkestán, to the north of which was a country known to the early Muslims as Mávara-un-nahr, being "beyond the river." Oxus the inhabitants were of two classes, Aryans in the cities, and Turanians who moved about as shepherds. All these districts were more or less

Muslim
Conquest
A D 642

Afghanistan

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open to the incursions of half-bred tribes who, under the name of Uzbeks, Turkmáns, and—at a later period—Mughals, united the courage of the nomad Tartar to some of the physical beauty and intelligence of the “Tájiks,” or Aryans, whose captured daughters the nomads made their wives. Some of these Turkish adventurers moved in “hordes” or camps, others appeared from time to time as individuals, originally taken captive in war, but often rising by their merits to high distinction in civil and military life, like the later Egyptian Mamelukes.

The early Muslims, after subduing Persia, effected conquests, and colonised the conquered country, in Transoxiana, Mekkán, and the valley of the Indus. But they did not penetrate farther eastward, being perhaps deterred by rumours that would reach them in Sindh of the large armies and warlike qualities of the Rájput chiefs and peoples. At last in the tenth century A. D. a large portion of Eastern Persia became independent of the Arab Khálif, under a native dynasty known as Samánis, and it was under the fifth ruler of this dynasty that the Turkish Mameluke Alptigin became independent in the elevated country of which Ghazni was the centre. Alptigin, dying in 977 A. D., left his power to his son Sabuktigin who, during a rule of twenty years, extended his sway over the whole of what is now called Afghánistán, and found himself in hostile contact with Jai Pál, a Hindu Rájá who seems to have ruled from Delhi to near Kabul, having his capital at Lahore. Two encounters are said to have taken place

Alptigin

Sabuktigin

in the Lughmán hills, the results of which were fatal to the Hindu cause. Before his death, A D 997, Sabuktigin was master of almost all the Panjáb, and as far west as Kandahár and the country round. He was succeeded by his son, the celebrated Sultán Mahmúd, a ruler famous all over the Eastern world for his prowess, his love of wealth, and his patronage of literature and the arts. In 999 Mahmúd declared himself independent of the Samáni princes, repudiating even the nominal supremacy implied in the mention of their names in the public litanies. He obtained formal investiture from the Khálif, and stood forth as "Sultán," which he was the first Muslim prince to adopt as an official title.

His attention was soon attracted to India as a field not only of warlike adventure but of meritorious proselytism. His first incursion took place in the first year of the eleventh century, when he once more encountered the veteran Jai Pál whose camp he plundered. The Rájá committed suicide, and was succeeded by his son Anang Pál. In 1008 Mahmúd made a still more serious incursion—having carried several minor raids into the Panjáb during the interval. Entering into a confederacy with the Rájás of Ujjain, Kánaui, and other Hindu States, Anang Pál opposed the march of the Muslims with a mighty host, but the valour and discipline of the invaders held good, till the Rájá being borne off the field by his frightened elephant, the Hindus fled from the battle, and Mahmúd followed up his victory by taking the fortified

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*Sultan Mah-
mud of
Ghazni.*

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DIN, OR MU-
HAMMAD BIN-
SAID OF GUR

temple at Nagarkot or Kangrá, dedicated to Devi, the divine consort of Shiva, and containing treasures in gold and jewels which has been accumulating since the heroic ages

Laden with this enormous booty the Sultán returned to the mountains, whence he did not return to attack the Hindus till 1011, when he made a dash upon Tháneswar in the eastern Panjáb. At last, in 1016, he penetrated into Hindustán at the head of a numerous army, chiefly horsemen recruited in his newly acquired territories, whom he stimulated by hopes of plunder. Marching parallel with the lower Himálaya range, where the rivers were smallest and easiest crossed, he suddenly turned south and fell upon Kánaúj, then the metropolis of a great kingdom. As we have already seen, this city had been the capital of a mighty empire, and it still preserved signs of its former grandeur. A Hindu writer declares that its walls were thirty miles in circumference, and its stately appearance is said to have made a deep impression upon the Muslim army. The Rájá came out of his gates and submitted, or made a treaty with Mahmúd who continued his ally, but he compensated his followers by the plunder of Muttra. Here, as he reported to Ghazní, were hundreds of marble palaces and stately temples which could not have been erected except in centuries of peace and prosperity. At Mahában, close by, an accidental quarrel precipitated a massacre, but, fanatical and avaricious as he may have been, the Sultán

was not habitually cruel, and the Muslim writers who would make a merit of slaughtering the infidel, are unable to credit him with much unprovoked carnage. In 1022 Mahmúd marched to the aid of his ally the Rájá of Kánauj, and meeting with opposition on his way through the Panjáb took Lahore from the son and successor of Anang Pál and made it a cantonment, thus establishing the first Muslim settlement on Indian soil. At length, in 1024, occurred Mahmúd's last Indian expedition, in which he crossed the Indus desert and reached Ajmer, whence he turned off to Guzarát which he took without resistance. Thence he marched against Somnáth, in Kathiawár, where he found the great temple looking on the Arabian sea, and only to be approached by way of a fortified isthmus. This he besieged and finally carried, after a storm that lasted three days, at the end of which the survivors of the brave garrison took boat and escaped by water. All sorts of fables have gathered round the taking of Somnáth—how Mahmúd refusing ransom shattered the lofty image of the God, and was rewarded by a great treasure which burst forth from its hollowed body, and how he carried off the sandal-wood doors which were afterwards used on the gate of his mausoleum at Ghazní. But these stories, which rested on no contemporaneous evidence, have been generally disproved in modern times. What is certain is that after a trying return-march, Mahmúd got back to Ghazní some time in 1027, next year he made a successful campaign in Irák, whence he proceeded to the reduction of Persia. The

SEC I.

CONDITION
OF MUSLIMS
AND HINDUS
AT THE TIME
OF THE CON-
QUEST FROM
MAHMUD OF
GHAZNI TO
SHAHAB U-
DDIN, OR MU-
HAMMAD BIN-
SAM OF GUR.

SEC I

CONDITION
OF MUSLIMS
AND HINDUS
AT THE TIME
OF THE CON-
QUEST FROM
MAHMUD OF
GHAZNI TO
SHAHĀB UD
DĪN, OR MU-
HAMMAD BIN
SAM OF GUR

Sultān died in 1030, lamenting with tears that he could not take his treasures with him where he was going, and leaving a name which served to point a moral in Shaikh Sādi's *Gulistān* *. He is reported to have amassed more riches than any monarch that ever lived

On the whole Sultān Mahmūd may be taken as a good specimen of the Asiatic Turk. The son of a Tartar father by a Persian mother he combined the conquering ardour of the former race with the refined tastes of the latter. The like mixture of blood and manners marked his subjects. Their physical force, and what in machinery would be motive power, was derived from the semi-savage docile Tartars, cruel from stupidity rather than from fanaticism or national hatred. The moral and intellectual direction was derived from the lively and ingenious Persians, their religious convictions and the scientific theology by which those convictions were organised being derived from an Arab Church whose teachers moved amongst them as an aristocracy of nature and of learning. Such a people is bound to have a career, which can only be broken by their own dissensions. The family of Sabuktigin was torn by intestine conflict for nearly 80 years, during which the Seljuk horde made its appearance and acquired predominance in parts of the Empire. Occasional raids into the Panjāb are recorded, and Elphinstone thinks that a considerable amalgamation of

* *Tā hanoz nigārān ast,
Ki mulk i-u ba digarān ast.*

Hindus and Muslims must have marked the period in Hindustán

At length, in 1118, Sultán Bahram, a descendant of the great Mahmud, murdered his son-in-law who was Governor of Gur. A war ensued, which ended in Ghazní being taken and destroyed by the Gurians under Alá-ud-dín, known in history as Jahánsoz, or "World-burner." This event occurred A D 1152.

This house of Gur, or Ghor, which succeeded to the Empire of what might be called Eastern Persia after a generation of war, was of mixed blood like that of Ghazní which it displaced. Its power was of short duration, and the chief importance of the line arises from its having founded the Muslim Empire of India which, in name at least, subsisted almost down to times still remembered. The most important of the Gurians was Shaháb-ud-dín, brother of the reigning prince who came to the throne after the death of the World-burner's son. In 1178 he took Lahore from the last of the Ghaznevídes who had retired there when his capital was destroyed. In 1186 this prince was taken prisoner, and Shaháb-ud-dín turned his attention to the Hindus. At this time there were two great federations of Hindu principalities in Upper India, one under the Rahtor Rájputs of Kánaúj, the other under the Chauhans of Ajmere. The head of the latter tribe was Prithwí Ráj, or Rai Pithaura, descended on the mother's side from Anang Pál, the opponent of the Ghaznevídes, and he has left a name among the Hindus by aid of the spirited verse of his bard, the cele-

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CONDITION
OF MUSLIMS
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MAHMUD OF
GHAZNI TO
SHAHAB UD-
DIN, OR MU-
HAMMAD BIN-
SAM OF GUR.
*The house of
Gur or Ghor.*

*Muhammad
bin Sam
or
Shahab ud-
din takes La-
hore, A D.
1178*

SEC I

CONDITION
OF MUSLIMS
AND HINDUS
AT THE TIME
OF THE CON-
QUEST FROM
MAHMUD OF
GHAZNI TO
SHAHAB UD
DIN, OR MU-
HAMMAD BIN-
SAM OF GUR

*Defeated Rai
Pithaura
A.D. 1193*

*Etawa A.D.
1194*

brated Hindi poet, Chand He successfully opposed the first invasion of Shaháb-ud-dín—otherwise known as Muhamad-bin-Sám—whom his brother the Sultán had made Viceroy at Ghazní In 1191 Rai Pithaura gained a complete victory over Bin-Sám on the classic field of Thaneswar, and the Muslim leader was glad to escape with his life But he re-assembled his forces in his native mountains, and returned to the Panjab in 1193 The Rájput prince was unprepared, a quarrel with Kánaúj distracted his attention and weakened his forces The Muslims were under thorough discipline and had learned by experience how to meet the tactics of the simple Rájputs The latter were defeated by Bin-Sám's skilful manœuvres, and their heroic leader was taken captive and sent as a prisoner towards Ghazní, but he is said to have saved himself from farther humiliation by committing suicide upon the road The victor advanced to Ajmere where he inflicted a further defeat upon the Rajputs But he was unwilling or unable to remain there, and after settling the country under a native prince who agreed to pay tribute, he returned to Ghazní, leaving a favourite Mameluke called Kutab-ud-dín Aibak, as his representative at Delhi which became the centre of the new Muslim power Next year Bin-Sám returned to India, and the Rahtor prince of Kánaúj learned the folly of not having joined in the defence of Hindustán He encountered the Muslims near Etáwa only to be defeated and slain In consequence the Muslim power was extended to Benares and the borders of Bengal This was in 1194

next year a lodgment was effected to the south, and siege was laid to Gwalior which, however, only fell after a long siege. The occupation of Guzerát and Nágor followed. These latter conquests were effected by Aibak, while another general of Bin-Sám's conquered Oudh and Bengal. Meantime Bin-Sám was occupied nearer home, where he succeeded his brother, as Sultán of Gur, in 1202. Four years later he was killed in an attack made on his camp by a robber-tribe of the Indus, and Aibak, or Kutab-ud-dín, became independent sovereign over the Indian conquests, and founded the Mameluke, or "Slave," dynasty A. D. 1206. His accession was regular and peaceful, being legitimised by the son and successor of his master, and his authority was acknowledged by all the generals and satraps of the Muslim power in Hindustán. The native powers from sea to sea, and from the Himálaya to the Narbadá, were either destroyed or subjugated, with the exception of Malwá, which had hitherto escaped, and Mewár, where a fresh migration of Rahtors from Kánaúj had reinforced the Rájputs in that quarter, and consolidated the several Rájput principalities, which have continued an almost independent existence from that day to this.

Thus the Muslim Empire was of an unprecedented kind. For, although the slave-kings at Delhi exercised a military sway over the greater part of Hindustán some Hindu states continued in the enjoyment of Self-Government, and even in those districts which had lost their own native Rájás the Hindus preserved their

SEC I

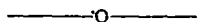
CONDITION
OF MUSLIMS
AND HINDUS
AT THE TIME
OF THE CON-
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MAHMUD OF
GHAZNI TO
SHAHAB UD-
DIN, OR MU-
HAMMAD BIN-
SAM OF GUR.
Bin Sam
killed A. L.
1206

Kutab-ud-
dín A. D.
1206

SEC II.

HINDUSTAN
UNDER THE
"SLAVE" DY-
NASTY

laws and religion. Professor H H Wilson has stated that extant coins prove that the establishment of Muslim rule was gradual and slow. The first rulers pursued a policy of conciliation, and, in contravention of the spirit of Islām, allowed the symbols of Hinduism to remain upon the money of the country. It was not until the rise of the dynasty called "Khiljī" that the conduct of the Muslim Government towards the Hindus became uncontrolledly and habitually cruel. We shall see, when we come to the reign of Alā-ud-dīn (1295—1315) how military success and unresisted authority corrupted the old humane principles and led to persecution and maladministration which, after a brief suspension under Sher Shāh and Akbar, ended in alienating the people of Hindustān. The fortunes of the populations in the Deccan were somewhat different, as will be duly noticed in the proper place.



Section 2 —Hindustan under the "Slave" dynasty.

From the establishment of the Muslims in Hindustān to the reign of Balban, the empire was governed by a series of soldiers of fortune, of the Mameluke type, with the exception of about thirty years during which the throne was occupied by members of one of their families. The period is chiefly remarkable for troubles arising out of the incursions of heathen Tartars from Central Asia, which Chingiz Khān, the great devastator, and his successors, were at that time making into a human volcano in a state of violent activity. Kutab-

ud-dín reigned at Delhi for four years (1206-10) during which he raised monuments which are still the admiration of all beholders. Levelling to the ground the palaces and temples of the Hindu Rájàs, he used the materials obtained by their destruction for a stupendous cloistered mosque which he called "the strength of Islam." This building is still almost entire, and still testifies to its origin by the shape of the pillars and the sculptures by which they are adorned. The portico fronting the shrine itself appears to contain arches, but the nature of these openings shows that, while craving that form—with which they had become acquainted in Pukhára—the Turkománs were unacquainted with the mechanical principle on which true arches depend. For the further commemoration of his patron (the Sultán of Ghazní, Muhamad-Bin-Sam') Kutab-ud-dín raised a tower beside this mosque and encircled it with sculptured arabesques containing the Sultán's name and attributes. His loyalty was rewarded in an unlooked-for manner, in spite of the inscription the column (afterwards completed to a height of nearly 250 ft.) has been always known as the "Minár of Kutab", and, as such, it is known to this day. The builder is praised by contemporary chroniclers, but his statesmanship did not include humane treatment of the natives. Like most Turkish rulers he was more than indifferent to the welfare of his non-Muslim subjects, "the realm," says the chronicler, was filled with friends and cleared of foes if his bounty was continuous so was his slaughter."

SEC. II

HINDUSIAN
UNDER THE
"SLAVE" DY
NASTY.

Kutab-ud-dín died at Lahore, in 1210, from an acci-

*Death of
Kutab ud din.*

<p>SRC II</p> <p>HINDUSTAN UNDER THE "SLAVE" DY NASTY <i>The Khiljis Ilduz Kabacha</i></p>	<p>dent at polo, the Empire being left in four great divisions. The Khiljis ruled the eastern districts—Behár and Bengal—as agents of the Delhi Empire. The north was under a semi-independent ruler of the Mameluke class named Ilduz. Another of the same class named Kabácha ruled in Sindh. The country round Delhi was the centre of the Empire and for a moment a son of the deceased Emperor occupied the throne there. But the Master-of-the-Horse, a slave of the deceased whose daughter he had married, deposed his feeble brother-in-law, and became Emperor, with the name, or title, of Shams-ud-din Altamsh. A scene of confusion ensued only to be cured by long and laborious exertions. Ilduz, who had acquired Ghazní, affected to be the over-lord, and offered to make Altamsh his feudatory. A quarrel ensued, during which Ilduz reached Thaneshwar, but was there defeated and taken (1215). Kabácha headed a still more formidable opposition in Sindh, being strengthened by the assistance of some of the heathen Mughals from the north. For many years Kabácha held his own, while the Sultán was engaged elsewhere, crushing the Khiljis in the eastern districts, and making other conquests over the Hindus. At length (1228) he found time to lead an expedition against Kabácha, who was routed in battle, at Bukkur in Sindh, after which (whether by accident or by suicide) he perished in the waters of the Indus. In 1232-3 the Sultán reduced Gwalior in spite of a stout resistance on the part of the Hindus under Milak Deo, and in 1234 he completed the conquest of Málwá by</p>
<p>Shams-ud- din Altamsh</p>	
<p><i>He defeated Ilduz, 1215</i></p>	
<p><i>and Kabácha 1228</i></p>	
<p><i>Reduced G-wa lior 1232</i></p>	

taking and occupying Mándu and Ujjain. The temples there and at Bhilsa were desecrated and partially destroyed, and the triumph of Islam in Hindustán appeared definitely accomplished. But in the next year the conqueror was himself conquered, dying a natural death after a prosperous career of more than a quarter of a century. His capital was where that of his predecessor had been, the reconstructed and strongly-fortified city of Rai Pithaura, whose walls still exist round the Kutab Minár and great mosque, and which include a college and tomb built by Sultán Altamsh for the perpetuation of his own memory.

Nothing had been wanting to the greatness of Altamsh. Ever victorious in war, he had reduced the whole of Hindustán from the Himálaya to the Vindhya, and from the Indus to the Brahmaputra, and his position had received the highest legitimisation by a patent of investiture from the Khálif of Bághdád, who was still the titular Pontiff and head of the Islamite power in the East. The court was presided over by a wise minister, deputed from Bághdád, and was further adorned by the presence of men of letters. But all this prosperity could not stand before the peculiar vicissitudes of oriental life. Rukn-ud-dín, the son of this mighty warrior, succeeded without a contest (1236) but proved totally unworthy of his high fortunes. He was deposed after a disordered career of seven months, and his throne passed to his sister Raziya Begam. This princess, who is remarkable as the only female sovereign who ever bore sway in the Muslim empire

SEC II

HINDUSTAN
UNDER THE
"SLAVE" DY-
NASTY
*Death of Al-
tamsu 1235.*

Rukn-ud-
dín 1236.

Raziya Be-
gam.

SEC II	of Hindustan, was a person of much capacity, who maintained her position for some time by skill in diplomacy and administration appearing in public unveiled and in masculine apparel But the usual weakness of female sovereigns ruined her, the favour that she showed to one of her officers excited the jealousy of the others, being ultimately overthrown by a rebellious chief she was deposed and imprisoned in 1240
HINDUSTAN UNDER THE "SLAVE" DYNASTY	While in captivity she was married to her captor, and attempting to recover the throne with his assistance was worsted by one of her brothers, by name Bahram The Begam and her husband fled from the field, and were both murdered by some Hindu villagers in the neighbourhood of Karnál, October, 1240
<i>Deposed</i>	
<i>and</i>	
<i>murdered</i> 1240	
Bahram 1240-42	Next year Lahore was taken by the heathen Tartars or Mughals, and fresh troubles ensued at Delhi In May, 1242, the city was taken by a body of mutinous soldiery, and Sultán Bahram was put to death after a reign of little more than two years His successor, Alá-ud-dín I, was a grandson of Altamsh, his father having been the corrupt and incompetent Rukn-ud-dín whose character and career were reproduced in him his reign was only remarkable for an irruption of the heathen Tartars under one of the grandsons of the great devastator Changez Alá-ud-dín was deposed and put to death in 1244 his uncle Nasir-ud-dín succeeding to the Sultánate Nasir's long reign was troubled both by risings of the Hindus and incursions of the northern barbarians, but another of the brave Turkomán Slaves, named Ulagh Beg, rose to power
Ala-ud-din I 1242-44	
Nasir-ud-din 1244	
<i>His General</i> <i>Ulagh Beg.</i>	

and proved the saviour of the Muslim Empire. This man had come by purchase into the hands of Sultán Altamsh, as far back as 1232, and was destined to a long and glorious career. Obtaining successive possession of the provinces of Riwári and of Hánsi, he was made head of the household in 1243, and the post gave him command alike of the civil and the military administration. Leading a campaign against the revolted Hindus of the Gangetic valley he overcame them with much slaughter, at the same time that he made seasonable arrangements for the defence of the north-western frontier which he made over to the charge of another capable Mameluke named Sher Khán. The new Sultán, who owed his throne to Ulagh, had the wisdom to leave him in unfettered authority, and the result amply justified the monarch's confidence. Having made enemies by his vigorous administration, Ulagh fell, indeed, into temporary disgrace, in 1252 but he was soon reinstated. Another Hindu revolt, instigated by a Turkomán rival, was suppressed in 1255, and a similar movement in the western parts of the country met with the same fate two years later. In the year 1259 another Mughal incursion took place in the west Panjáb, and was deemed so formidable that poets were commissioned to produce patriotic verses in order, as we are informed by an almost contemporary writer, "to stir up the feelings of the Muslims." This spirit succeeded, for the last prominent event of Sultán Nasír's reign was a peaceful mission from the head of the Mughals, Huláku. This

SEC. II.

HINDI STAN
UNDER THE
"SLAVE DY-
NASTY."

*Mission from
the Mughals
1265.*

SPC II

HINDUSTAN
UNDER THE
"SLAVE" DY-
NASTY

*Death of
Nasir ud din
1266*

Ulagh Beg
succeeded
as Ghiyas-
ud-din Bal-
ban

chief, having overthrown the Khalifate of Baghdád, sought to strengthen himself by an alliance with the Empire of Hindustán and sent an embassy to Delhi. This event, which testifies to the success of Ulagh Beg's administration, took place in the year 1265. The minister had a keen sense of the value of appearances, and received the envoys with due pomp and splendour, decorating the gates of the palace with the stuffed skins of slaughtered Hindus. The peaceful Sultán passed away in February of the following year, and the great Minister took possession of the vacant throne, under the title of Ghivás-ud-dín Balban. As this occurred forty-four years after the adventurer had first entered Delhi as a purchased slave, he must have been about sixty when he became Sultán, a circumstance which may be taken as showing that to his other great qualities he must have added an inexhaustible patience. His reign was marked by the same characteristics that had caused his rise. He was energetic, enduring, stern, and magnificent. One of his first acts after becoming Sultán was to suppress a revolt of the Mewátis—a wild tribe near Delhi—of whom he is said to have slaughtered a hundred thousand. He remodelled his army, selecting the best officers for promotion. He showed the utmost firmness in dealing with the Mamelukes, these men, known as "Shamsis" from having been the myrmidons of Shams-ud-dín Altamsh, were comrades of the Sultán's, they had shared his exploits, they had grown old together with him, and some of them thought that

they might presume upon their connection. But the Sultán repressed their excesses with relentless vigour. His lofty character was even shown in his personal habits, he allowed no jesting in his presence, no one ever saw him laugh, even before his private domestics he never appeared but in full dress. Without wasting the state revenues in vain expeditions he kept his army on a war footing, ever prepared to march against the Mughals. Huláku heard of the training of these troops and took the hint until the Sultán waxed old, no incursions from the north disturbed the peace of Hindustán. The Sultán's eldest son was worthy of his parentage, though he added tastes which the old Sultán had never acquired. This Prince surrounded himself with learned men and men of letters, one of his favourites being the first of Hindustáni poets, Khusrú. At his table loose talking was unknown, and he is almost a solitary instance of a Muslim of rank, who, while allowing himself the prohibited indulgence of wine, used it with moderation. But the most successful of men are not protected against disaster, the blameless Prince was killed in battle near Multán, bravely repelling an incursion of the Mughal, the poet Khusrú being taken captive at the same time. The aged monarch sank under the blow. Declaring the Prince's son Khusrú his heir Balban expired in the beginning of 1287, and with him expired the great Mameluke empire of Delhi. Elphinstone calls him a "narrow-minded and selfish tyrant", but his faults were those of his conditions, while

SEC II

HINDUSTAN
UNDER THE
"SLAVE" DY-
NASTY

He died 1287

SEC. II

HINDI STAN
UNDER THE
"SLAVE DYNASTY"

*Prince
Khusru
and his cousin
Kai Kobád.*

The Khilji

his merits were his own Eastern history has few greater names to show than that of the adventurer Ulugh Beg, better known in its pages as Sultán Balban His rise and reign were recorded by Ziá-ud-dín Barni who, though indebted to information from the Sultán's contemporaries, belonged to another age and wrote under a new dynasty The picture that he has painted is not without shadows, and it could hardly have been actuated by hope of reward or distorted by desire to flatter The general result is to show a character of unusual strength, but it is the vice of despotic governments to depend wholly on personal qualities and to lose their authority when these are lost No sooner was Balban dead than his orders were set aside Prince Khusrú was made to go to his late father's post on the frontier while his cousin was made Sultán under the ancient Persian title of Kai Kobád This unhappy youth was destined to furnish a proof of the futility of human wisdom Educated in the strictest discipline by his stern grandsire he knew but little of the world, and plunged without restraint into its new found pleasures Causing his cousin Khusrú to be killed, he gave himself up to loose living, became paralytic, and in that condition was ignominiously slain in his bed after a nominal reign of about four years

The Turkomán power had for some time been menaced by a revival of the Afghán clan mentioned in connection with the reign of Kutab-ud-dín Aibak by the name of "Khilji" This clan had possibly originated the revolution in the palace, by which its members

certainly benefited. The Empire fell to an officer of the army of this class (1290)

It is obvious that, up to this time, the native Hindus, though always worsted, were not yet subdued. They had by no means accepted the sway of their conquerors, and continued to take every opportunity of revolt. Their sufferings were terrible, but they were less those of persecuted subjects than of persistent rebels.

Section 3.—Wars in the Deccan, and oppression of Hindus.

Jalál-ud-dín, the champion of the Khiljí clan, was a blunt old soldier, in his seventieth year, when raised to a dignity which he does not seem to have desired, and for which he was evidently unfit. He was convivial in his habits, and clement in character, he put down rebellion but failed to punish the rebels. His principal commander was his nephew, Alá-ud-dín, who had charge of the lower Duáb, an able but unscrupulous officer who in 1294 took the bold step of invading the Deccan without obtaining the permission of his uncle and Sovereign.

We have briefly examined the state of Southern India in Ch II § 2, where it was shown that there were two main Hindu, or Dravidian kingdoms there, about the time of the Muslim invasions of the north,—namely, Karnátik on the west and Telingána on the east—besides a Rajput power whose capital was at Deogiri,

SEC III

WARS IN THE
DECCAN, AND
OPPRESSION
OF HINDUS.

Jalal-ud-
dín

*His nephew
Ala-ud-din
invades the
Deccan, 1294*

SEC III.
 WARS IN THE
 DECCAN, AND
 OPPRESSION
 OF HINDUS

a strongly fortified place between the modern cities of Haidarábad and Bombay The Rájá of this State was of the Yádu tribe, with all the indolent courage of his race Ala-ud-dín moved swiftly over the 700 miles of wild country between the Jamna and the North Deccan, and appeared before Deogiri before the Rájputs had made any adequate preparation for defence

Having secured the submission of the Yádu Rájá, Alá-ud dín conducted his return-march with equal success, and offered to meet his uncle and sue for forgiveness The old Sultán accordingly advanced towards the camp of his nephew, and on his arrival the latter came out and fell at the old man's feet in pretended humility But, while his uncle was endeavouring to raise him with a fatherly caress, he stabbed the old man, and the next moment his followers, completing the murder, proclaimed the succession of the assassin

*Murder of
 Jalal ud din
 by
 Alá-ud-dín
 succeeds*

The remainder of Alá's career was on a par with these circumstances His conduct as Sultán was bold and able, and he completed the subjugation of the Hindus, in the north and largely in the south also But he was harsh and arbitrary to an extent that, even in a Muslim despot of the middle ages, was unusual and extreme Gujarát was fully reduced, the Rájá being driven to seek safety in flight southward A number of converted Mughals in the army having proved insubordinate when called on to surrender the plunder taken in this campaign, the Sultán killed as many of them as he could catch, besides their

unoffending women and children. In the third year of his reign (1298) a mighty host from Transoxiana marched on Delhi by Kandhar and the Indus. The Sultán came out to meet them, after a hot day's fighting the invaders were driven back but the Sultán was jealous of his general, and left him unsupported to be killed in the pursuit of the still formidable foe. In addition to his crimes the Sultan was not even entitled to the credit of being an orthodox Mussalmán. He did, indeed, complete the demolition of the beautiful Hindu temples near the Kutab Minár, and enlarge the mosque, adding a gateway which is one of the finest things of its kind. But he was disrespectful in his language towards the Muslim Church and proposed to found a new religion. Nevertheless he made some compromise with orthodoxy by a cruel and methodical persecution of the Hindus. The sword, indeed, had done its work, but there is a mean ignoble punishment of those whose opinions are hated, and to this Alá-ud-dín (brave soldier as he was) did not disdain to stoop. His Hindu subjects were vexed by sumptuary provisions intended to crush their strength and break their spirit. The Hindu was to be so reduced as to be unable to have a horse to ride, arms to protect himself with, or decent clothes to wear. The land was surveyed and assessed not for the settlement of an income on the husbandmen but to secure half the *gross* produce to the State—a tenth being in all places and times found to be about the average surplus. "Men looked upon revenue-

SEC. III

WARS IN THE
DECCAN, AND
OPPRESSION
OF HINDUS

*Persecution of
the Hindus by
Ala ud din,*

SFC III

WARS IN THE
DECCAN, AND
OPPRESSION
OF HINDUS

officers," says a Muslim historian of the time, "as worse than fever" Regarding his own whims as more sacred than the law of Islám, the Sultán rarely consulted lawyers But when he judged it prudent to take the opinion of a Kázi on the taxation-question, he was far from satisfied with the reply He therefore answered that the Doctor was a sage and he, the Sultán, but an unlettered soldier, nevertheless he was not minded to confine himself to exacting lawful tribute No tribute or even private property for him, no Hindu should have anything left beyond the flour and milk that were indispensable to keep him alive He closed the consultation by remarking that the law of the Prophet was one thing, and State policy another

*His military
exploits.*

It is impossible to deny to such a man the quality of originality, however ill-directed In military matters he was able and uniformly successful In 1300 after a twelve month's siege, he took the great Hindu fortress of Rintimbur—in what is now the Jaipur Province of Rájputána and he put to the sword the Rájá and all the garrison In 1303 he took, and settled, Chitor, in Mewár or Udaipur, and in the course of the next two years so severely chastised the Mughals that for many years they ventured on no more incursions into India In 1309 a force was sent into the kingdom of Telingána, in the Eastern Deccan, under the command of a slave, believed to have been a converted Hindu, who had assumed the name of Malik Káfur, and risen by his merits to high military rank Assisted

*Invasion of
the Deccan*

by the Rájá of Deogiri, Káfur forced the Rájá of Telingána to capitulate when his capital, Warangal, was on the point of being stormed. In 1310-11 Káfur conducted minor operations, in all of which he approved himself a wise and valiant soldier. The whole of the Deccan became tributary, down to Comorin and the Coromandel Coast. These things show some approach between the conqueror and the conquered, which was emphasised by the marriages of the Sultán and his eldest son to the wife and daughter of a Hindu, the fugitive Rájá of Gujarát. In 1312 Káfur returned to the south, where the Hindu ally of the Empire, Rájá Ramdeo of Deogiri, had withheld his tribute. Deogiri was taken, the Rájá was put to death, and the countries of Maháráshtra and Karnáta were wasted and made tributary.

Alá-ud-dín and his General were now undisputed masters of the entire peninsula from the gates of Darband to Adam's Bridge. But the Sultán's health was quite undermined by immoderate use of liquor and other still lower vices. Káfur took advantage of his illness to seclude him from his family, so that his existence was only known when some sanguinary order issued from the recesses of the palace. Alp Khan, the Sultán's brother-in-law and an able officer, was put to death; the Sultán's consort and two sons were thrown into prison, and disorders broke out in various parts of the empire, many Imperial garrisons being expelled from Hindu provinces or what had lately been so. In the midst of this trouble it was announced that the

SEC III

WARS IN THE
DECCAN, AND
OPPRESSION
OF HINDUS

SFC III

WARS IN THE
DECCAN, AND
OPPRESSION
OF HINDUS
*Death of Ala
ud din, 1315*

*Mubarak
Shah, Khilji
1317*

Sultán was dead Whether aided by Káfur or purely natural in its causes, his decease caused a momentary relief, it took place towards the end of 1315 His infant son was proclaimed to be his successor, under the guardianship of Káfur, the elder sons being entirely set aside under an alleged will Káfur seemed for the season all powerful at court, and the commander of the northern frontier, Ghází Málik, was too patriotic and devoted to his duty to be a danger at the time. But Káfur made himself enemies nearer home, and having failed in an attempt to cause the death of one of the Princes, his late master's third son Mubárik—after blinding the others—he was himself slain The Prince became Sultan, and is known in history as Mubárik Sháh, Khiljí his accession is dated 22nd March, 1317 The new Sultán was a young man of dissolute habits who began where Alá-ud-dín had ended, entrusting all branches of administration to a minion, while he gave himself over to debauchery This man was a slave, of Hindu birth, who on becoming a Muslim, got the name of Khusrû Khán Like Káfur he was a capable commander, and made a successful campaign on the south-west coast of the Deccan whence he returned with much booty The scenes of the last reign were reproduced, the favourite engrossed all power, finally the indolent Sultán was removed

Khusrû Shah

The imperfectly converted Hindu now assumed the empire, entitling himself Khusrû Sháh From March to August Delhi was in the hands of low-caste Hindus, who took to themselves the ladies of the Muslim *Zananas*,

and used Korans as seats while they worshiped idols in the *masjids*. The stern Warden of the marches, Ghází Málik, dared not interfere, for his eldest son, Juná Khán, was living—an unwilling guest and hostage—in the desecrated capital. But, at last, Juná effected his escape and repaired to his father's camp in the Panjáb. They at once hastened to Delhi, gained an easy victory over the Hindu garrison, and put an end to the usurper's life. Ghází then inquired for the Khiljí house, and when none appeared was himself acclaimed Sultán. The date of this event is 22nd August, 1321 and the new Sultán, in memory of Balban whose follower he had been, assumed the name of Ghiyás-ud-dín. His Turkish cognomen was Tughlak.

The Khiljí Afgháns had only reigned 30 years, but this short period had witnessed a great change. The Muslim power had been consolidated in Hindustán and extended over the Deccan. The irruptions of the Mughals had ceased, and those Northern barbarians had submitted to the creed of Islám, and were largely employed in the armies of the empire. Those of the Hindus whose resistance had succeeded became recognised as belligerent enemies, those who were left within the pale of the empire were beginning to occupy the position of subjects and clients like the Sudras of old in the times of the Vedic Aryans. In the language of Sir W. Hunter, "The Muhammadan Sultán of India was no longer merely an Afghán (or Turkoman) king of Delhi." There was now a large Muslim population in Hindustán, partly formed of immigrants, partly of con-

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WAR IN THE
DECCAN, AND
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OF HINDUS

Ghazí Malík
or
Ghiyas ud dín
Tughlak

SEC III

WARS IN THE
DECCAN, AND
OPPRESSION
OF HINDUS

The origin
of the Hin-
dustani
language

verts, and a vernacular language was being created, to enable them to communicate with the Hindus. This language—known to Europeans as “Hindustani”—is an application of the Prakrit dialect of the Duáb to the common purposes of all classes of the inhabitants using the Persian form of the Arabic character, and borrowing from all the vocabularies with which it comes in contact, it has become not only a medium of oral intercourse but of a considerable local literature. It fostered the increase of mutual knowledge and toleration, and its existence points to a stage in national life. The usual Asiatic term for this new language was “Urdu,” from a Turkish word meaning camp, an etymology which helps to explain its origin, for it was in the camp that such a vernacular would first become requisite. At the same time it shows that the necessities of humanity are too strong for the pride of race, the bigotry of creed or the resentment of subjugated nations.

CHAPTER IV.

*LINE OF TUGHLAK—RETURN OF THE MUGHALS.***Section I.—The line of Tughlak, and Timur's invasion.**

The old soldier who had attained sovereignty in this unusually blameless manner was a singular instance of natural simplicity and good conduct. The son of a Turkoman slave by a Hindu mother, he owed every step in his honourable career to himself, and on becoming Sultán he did not allow the situation to affect his rectitude or self-control. He did his best to reform the civil administration, at the same time guarding his northern frontier and sending his son Juná to restore order in the Deccan. The Rájá of Telingána held out, and the Prince showed but little capacity or good fortune, but Bidar and Warangal were both ultimately taken (A. D. 1323) and the Rájá was brought captive to Delhi. He was subsequently released and restored to his principality, which became submissive and paid tribute to the Empire. In the following year the Sultán personally led an expedition into the eastern districts and returned homewards bringing with him another prisoner, the Rájá of Tírhút.

But Juná was wearying for the succession. As his father slowly continued his homeward march the prince

The reign
of Ghiyas-
ud-din
Tughlak
1321.

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TUGHLAK,
AND TIMUR'S
INVASION*Death of
Ghizas ud din
Tughlak,
1325*Juna or
Muhamad
Tughlak*His character*

consulted a hermit whose cell was near the city "The Sultán has reached—" he would say, (naming a fresh stage at which the army was reported to have arrived), "Delhi is still far," replied the seer. At the last halting place Juná had prepared a pavilion of timber in which he received the old Sultán and his youngest son who had accompanied him on the campaign. There was a parade of elephants, Juná went down to give an order, the next instant an elephant struck—as if by accident—a projection in the tower where the Sultán sat. A crash followed, and the structure fell. When the workmen came to explore, the body of the old Sultán was found buried in the ruins, the arms stretched over the body of the boy as if seeking to protect him in the last extremity. This tragedy took place in February, 1325.

Juná succeeded. But like many other Sultáns he ruled under another name, being known officially as Muhammad Tughlak. He was a very singular character, brave and learned, yet wholly without judgment or conduct. Hence he was most unsuccessful in ruling the empire that he had been so impatient to obtain. He presented a combination—rare at all times—of culture without humanity, and intelligence without judgment. This character has been described by two competent observers to neither of whom he had given any offence. One was the African traveller, Ibn Batuta, whom he received hospitably and employed in honourable offices, the other the historian Barni, to whom he condescended to explain himself, as though he would

retain an advocate at the bar of Posterity His harshness was not strong or methodical like that of some of the able despots by whom he was preceded We do not hear of religious persecutions or enforced conversions such as afterwards tarnished the administration of Aurangzeb But his capricious and fantastic action laid waste his territories as if he had been a victorious enemy He assembled an army for the invasion of Persia and allowed it to disperse for want of pay and without employment He sent an expedition over the mountains into Chinese Tartary, and, when it had been dissolved by the difficulties of the country and the climate, put to death many of the troops who had been left behind in garrison He introduced a debased currency which he attempted to float by the harshest measures When his maladministration had produced ruin and famine in Hindustán he tried to deport the population by force to the Deccan, myriads died on the way He then endeavoured to re-people the Delhi territory from other places He complained to Barni that the more he punished his subjects the more rebellious they became, and declared his determination to proceed at all hazards

But the people never dies, whereas the most wilful despots pass away The Deccan began to show signs of independence, Gujarát and Sindh rebelled In 1347 an adventurer named Hasan Gango, obtaining assistance from the Hindu Rájás of the south, established a principality above the Western Gháts, of which the capital was, at first, Gulbarga Before

SH. I

THE LINE OF
TUGHILAK
AND TIMUR'S
INVASION.

SEC I.

THE LINE OF
TUGHLAK,
AND TIMUR'S
INVASION*His death*
1351

attempting to put down these enemies the Sultán determined to punish the Gujarát rebels who had been har-
boured by a Rájá in Sindh Here he reached Tatta,
when he was attacked by fever and died (20th March,
1351), the most insane tyrant that ever escaped a
violent end He is said to have uttered on his death-
bed a well-turned stanza in which he reviewed the
laborious vanity of his career Like the first Mary
of England, Muhammad Tughlak has been branded by
mankind with one single and significant epithet He
is known to Indian public opinion as *Khumí Sultán*—
“the Bloody Lord”

Firoz
Tughlak

Among the princes in camp at Tatta, when this
strange despot deceased, was his cousin Firoz Tugh-
lak, who was known to have been educated by the late
Sultán in view to the succession Even in his coffin
the strong-willed man had his way, Firoz was acclaim-
ed Sultán by the unanimous voice of the army, and
proceeded at once to the capital where he assumed
the Government after a brief opposition on behalf of
a child declared to be the son of the late Emperor
Firoz was a fortunate selection As an orthodox
Muslim he is naturally a favourite with the chroniclers
but we are able to judge him by his own words, for
he has left a short memoir written by his own hand
From this we learn that he was more than a mere
common-place conservative In spite of an unques-
tioning decorousness he showed sympathy and grati-
tude for the free-thinking predecessor who, whatever
his crimes and errors, had been to himself a constant

His character

benefactor He buried Sultán Juná in a magnificent tomb which still adorns the sternly-grandiose city of the Tughlaks a few miles south of modern Delhi He chose out the names of the best early Muslim rulers to be praised in the weekly litany before his own Not until he had completed all their unfinished buildings did he attempt to perpetuate his own memory by public works But this was from no want of taste or love of art The city of Firoz is still marked out by walls and temples, and he seems to have been the first Muslim ruler who acknowledged that the good of the people had as much claim to be considered as the glory of the sovereign One of his public works was a canal which, under the name of the " Western Jumna, " still runs from near Jhind to Delhi, a direct distance of about 65 miles but actually 200 miles long Moreover, he reduced the number of capital offences, abolishing entirely the punishments of torture and mutilation, he also repealed many harsh fiscal practices and fixed the revenue so as to settle the portion payable to the State and the share of the collecting officials A complete list of his public works is recorded, but it is of doubtful accuracy, and many of them have crumbled in decay, enough, however, remains to bear witness to a pure taste, and a grand simplicity of style It is not, however, to be expected that a man of this stamp should rise above the level of his age Firoz was a persecutor, and we know, from his own testimony, that he considered persecution highly meritorious He indemnified himself for other alleviations of

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*A religious
persecutor.*

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fiscal burden by a rigorous enforcement of the *ṛāsiyā*, or capitation-tax on unbelievers and he tells us that he destroyed Hindu temples wherever found, putting to death all those who, after due warning, proved incorrigible in idol-worship. We can only deplore such an ideal in one otherwise so good, and hope that it was not quite fulfilled.

This generally amiable monarch was not successful in war. The decomposition of the Empire, begun under the mad mismanagement of Juná was not to be adjourned by the well-meaning efforts of a devotee and an architect. In the east Bengal asserted independence by sending an ambassador to Delhi. In the Deccan the kingdoms of Telingána and Karnáta interposed between the central power and the Muslim acquisitions in the south. The line of Hasan Gango became established under what was known as the "Bahmani line," and gradually gave shape to what is now the State of Haidarábád. So passed a period of thirty-two years, at the end of which the Sultán, yielding to the advance of age, became the puppet round which palace-intrigue revolved. In 1388 he abdicated, and on 21st September died a natural death, being over 80 years of age. After a series of short and troubled reigns, in which the Hindus showed signs of renewed strength and influence, the House of Tughlak lost all power, and the Empire broke into fragments, incapable of union or of common defence against northern invasion.

*Decay of the
House of
Tughlak*

The Mughals had, as we have seen, become Muslims

in the 13th century They were now organised under one of those exceptional men who sometimes achieve universal distinction in the most backward states of society and the most unfavouring circumstances The Amír Timúr was a soldier of fortune, belonging to the Turkomín tribe of Barlás, who had risen in the service of the descendants of the great devastator Changer In spite of the lapse of time and the comparative humanity of the newly-acquired religious system, the Muslim Mughals were not yet civilised and Timúr himself though not deficient in education was as cruelly destructive as his precursor He attempted little or no permanent conquest in the lands that he overran, havoc and booty seem to have been his chief—if not only—objects and he was not only cruel but perfidious

Early in the Spring of 1398 this ruthless and accomplished ruin-maker invaded India with two forces While his grandson marched his column across the Indus and laid siege to Múltán, the Amír in person entered the Panjáb by the Kháibar pass, and finally effected a junction with his grandson who had by that time carried out his purpose by taking Múltán. Leaving a track of blood and ashes behind them, the conjoined armies appeared before Delhi, 12th December 1398 The Tughlak Sultán fled for his life into Gujarát, and the Amír, with promises of protection, entered the capital on 17th December As appears to have been universal in such cases—it happened so lately as the last century when Nadír Shah occupied

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TUGHLAK,
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INVASIONThe Amir
Timur*Invaded India
1398**Captured
Delhi*

SEC I

THE LINE OF
TUGHLAK,
AND TIMUR'S
INVASION*Returned to
Samarkand**Anarchy at
Delhi*Sayyid dy-
nasty 1414-
1450

the same city—the rudeness of the invading soldiery provoked resistance from the citizens, and a trifling quarrel rapidly ripened into a general massacre. For five days Timúr looked on at a scene of rapine, murder, and arson, and then departed after offering thanks to the Maker of himself and his victims in the mosque of Sultán Firoz. He carried off architects and sculptors from Delhi, so that he might reproduce that magnificent building—which is still to be seen—and erect its rival in his capital at Samarkand. After a further career of havoc Timur returned to his own country by the same route as that by which he had come.

The empire was destroyed, and the capital was for some weeks uninhabited. In 1405 the pitiful Tughlak returned, and held a nominal sway over the city and suburbs for seven years. After fifteen months of conflict and anarchy, a soldier of fortune named Sáyyid Khizr Khán obtained the Government which he professed to hold as Timúr's deputy. But neither Timúr nor his successors ever took the smallest interest in Indian affairs, and the Sayyid dynasty ruled the dwindled centre of Hindustán, without interference from without, till 1450. The frontier in one place came within a mile of the city wall, and the stunted dimensions of the Empire were celebrated in the well-known popular doggerel —

*Bádshahí Sháh Alam**As Dilli tá Pálam*

[Palam being a village ten miles south west of the modern city].

A powerful chief Bahlul Lodī, having got possession of Sirhind, came to Delhi on the invitation of the minister of the last Sayyid Sultān, who thereupon peacefully decamped to Budāun leaving the faded royalty to his visitor. But before noticing more fully the temporary recovery of the Muslim power in Hindustān it will be best to take a summary view of the state of the country at the close of its first period. The Sultāns of the Lodī dynasty, though Muslims, were natives of Hindustān, and their administration, so far as we know it, was of a different kind from that of the Turkish Mamelukes and adventurers by whom, chiefly, they had been preceded. The end of the first Muslim Empire, therefore, may be regarded as taking place in consequence of the invasion of Timūr and the two generations of anarchy which followed.

That the Turkish rulers had not cared to provide for the welfare of the people of Hindustān, we have had proof in the foregoing record. Nevertheless their very lack of sympathy caused them to abstain from interference with the habits of the people, and during the two and a half centuries from Shahāb-ud-dīn to Bahlul Lodī the Hindus were able to follow and develop their own legal system and also to make their vernacular the basis of a new colloquial language which tended to become national and to lay the foundations of unity. Of the conditions of life, beyond this, we have but faint and transient glimpses. It may be fairly supposed that the wars to which the Sultans were called by the "Rais and Ranas" like

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End of the
First Mus-
lim period

*State of Hin-
dustan*

SEC I

THE LIFE OF
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the occasional persecutions that followed their suppression, left large spaces of a troubled peace between. During those intervals and, still more, in the period that followed the dissolution of the Turkish power, they would live their usual frugal industrious life, regarding the Muslims as a burden laid upon them by the will of the gods, and they would pursue their humble callings, so far as military events allowed, under that natural compulsion which bids such men to work even in the most difficult conditions. The origin of the *Urdu*—or “Hindustāni”—language, already mentioned, dates from this period, and the fact that it was also the time when both the still-existing schools of Hindu law were founded shows that, like the Greeks under the Osmanlis, the subject races maintained substantial autonomy.

Of the contemptuous estimation to which such autonomy is, in both cases, attributable there can be no doubt. So good comes out of evil in human affairs, for assuredly any indulgences the Hindus may have owed to the narrow bigots who led Muslim opinion betray little enough of sympathetic statesmanship. It has been related above that Alā-ud-dīn Khiljī took legal opinion as to the taxation of the Hindus, and that the opinion was deemed too lenient. This is what it came to: “whenever Hindus are called on to pay taxes, let them do so with all submission. And should the collector offer to spit in their faces, let them hold up their faces that he may do so in this wise they should stand before the collectors, that they may

show the obedience of unbelieving subjects, the glory of Islám, and the contempt due to false religions For the Scripture says,—They must either accept Islám, or be put to death, or become slaves ”

Inspired by such doctrine the natural insolence of foreign conquerors would lose nothing of its edge Only the indolence of the Tártár character and the positive necessity for tillers of the earth and carriers of burdens, interposed to substitute rack-renting for slaughter and neglect for interference But in such a substitution was involved the forming of the present Hindustáni nation At the same time it is to be observed that, if the Hindús were autonomous they had to be so without much aid from administrative machinery State and subjects suffered alike from the want of contact, but, in the then existing conditions of the country it was a necessary evil which contained some germs of good

In the Deccan the distance between the ruling class and the natives was less than in Hindustán, and the fusion began much earlier The foundation of the Bahmaní kingdom by Hasan Gango, its very name and that of its founder, are all signs of this, as is also the fact that the Hindu Rájáships of Karnáta and Ielingána remained, encircling it on all sides, for three quarters of a century The Muslim and Hindu nobles in the Deccan also practised a certain amount of intermarriage, Hindu officers were employed in civil and military posts of trust, and in the kingdom of Bijápur a Muslim Sultán abolished the use

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*Condition of
the Deccan*

SEC I

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*The revenue
of the Empire
under Firoz*

of Persian in the public accounts and substituted Mārāthī

Of the population and revenue of the early Muslim empire we have no detailed record, and can only form an inexact estimate. We know neither its precise extent and condition, nor the value of its coinage

The crazy Junā—the second of the Tughlaks—along with his attacks upon the laws of nature, attempted to enforce a debased currency. It was he, too, who lost many of the provinces that had been won by his predecessors. The next ruler, his kinsman Firoz, is known to have had a revenue of sixty-five millions of *tankas*, but whether or no these were silver *tankas*, equivalent to so many rupees, we cannot be certain. The sources of this revenue were three —

1st The *khiraj*, a tithe on agricultural produce, payable by all classes of cultivators, without distinction of creed. By the time of Firoz Tughlak there had come to be many Muslim agriculturists

2nd *jazīyā*, a capitation-tax on unbelievers, which was professedly a second tithe and,

3rd A royalty on mines and a share of war-prize, estimated at one-fifth

The *jazīyā* is said by a chronicler of those times to have averaged ten-and-a-half *tankas* a head, and the Muslims are believed to have formed a fifth of the entire community. The population of the Empire just before it broke up—in Hindustān—may have been about thirty millions of souls, if we may judge from an estimate of the revenue

*Population
about 30
millions*

Section 2.—The Lodi line, and new Mughals.

SFC II

THE LODI
LINE AND
NEW MU-
GHALS.

The beginning of Sultán Bahlol's reign was a struggle against anarchy. Among the analogies between the invasion of Hindustán by Imúr and that of Nadir nearly three hundred and fifty years later we can hardly fail to remark the complete break-up of Government and society that in each instance followed. The political training and traditions of the people proved, in either case, unequal to the recovery of law, order, and business, without foreign aid.

Nevertheless, it is to the credit of the native Muslims who ruled from 1451 to 1526 that under them the country did make some progress towards such recovery. The fusion of races (which had been prevented by the apathy no less than by the oppression of the Turks) assumed possibility and made some actual beginning under Princes who, though Muslims, were of Indian birth and parentage. Indeed we shall find, at a somewhat later period, that it was a ruler of this class who laid the foundation of all that has been done for the people of India to the present day.

The reign of Sultán Bahlol was long and prosperous. He extended the Empire's limits especially to the east and south of the Panjáb where he had been master before his accession. He founded the city of Agra which afterwards became one of the Imperial capitals and he appears to have trusted and employed some of the Hindu chiefs. No persecution is imputed to him which is perhaps more than merely negative.

Bahlol Lodi
1451

SEC II
THE IODI
TINE, AND
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CHALS

Died 1480

Nizam
Khan or
Sikandar

evidence, since the Muslim chroniclers would hardly have omitted to record what they would consider most meritorious conduct. They speak of him otherwise as able, temperate, and a most courageous leader, and no defeats are ascribed to him, though his means were probably far from adequate, if we may judge from the fact that he spent no less than twenty-six years in reducing to obedience the petty prince of Jaunpur. Bahlol died 1st July, 1480, leaving a territory extending from Delhi and Benares to the Himálaya, with some portion of the country between the Jumna and the Chambal. He owed his successes in war—such as they were—to the services of Mughal troops who had by this time begun a permanent course of adventures in Hindustán.

On the death of Sultán Bahlol a number of family disputes occurred which were finally closed by the victory of Nizám Khán, son of the deceased Sultan by a Hindu mother. On his accession he took the name of Sikandar, after the Macedonian Conqueror, Alexander the Great. He continued the policy of his father, pushing the eastern limits of the Empire into Behar, and the southern to Bundelkhund. His civil administration was generally wise and peaceful, but his Hindu blood made him rather fanatical than, as might have been expected, tolerant. He interfered with many harmless practices of Hinduism, destroying temples and prohibiting pilgrimages, and he is said to have ordered the death of a philosopher who taught that all religions were equally acceptable to the Deity.

it honestly held and followed Under Sikandar the Empire was a loosely federated congeries of petty principalities and fiefs, the latter in the hands of Lodis and other members of Afghán tribes Sultán Sikandar transferred his capital to Agra, where an important suburb on the Delhi road still preserves his name He was a poet and a patron of men of letters and died in peace, 17th February, 1510

The son of Sikandar succeeded, by the title of Ibrahim Husain Khán Like many princes born to power, he was proud, suspicious, and arbitrary His reign was chiefly remarkable for a great and general abundance of produce Gold and silver became at the same time scarce, and it is particularly noted by a chronicler that a horse-soldier's pay rose to a rate of from twenty to thirty tankás a month What were the whole causes of this sudden disturbance in the relations between specie and commodities can only be conjectured a succession of good seasons must have been among them What is certain is that the young Sultán took advantage of it, and became ardent in the accumulation of treasure, by which he necessarily increased the evil and the consequent discontent Much disturbance ensued and ambitious chiefs found it easy to raise rebellions The Sultán suppressed most of these, one by one, until a Loháni chief succeeded in making the eastern districts into an independent principality. The infection spread to the Panjáb where a Lodi Governor (named Daulat Khán) called in to the aid of his

SEC II

THE LODI
LINE, AND
NEW MU-
CHALS

*Muz. Azra
the cat a*

Died 1510.

Ibrahim
Husain
Khan

*Traces in
the cat a*

SEC II

THE LOMINI AND
NEW MU
CHALS*The Empire
again disinte-
grated*

revolt, Sultán Bábar of Kabul, destined hereafter to play so great a part upon the scene of Hindustán. The Kábul chief Bábar came down, took several places, including Lahore, and appointed as his agent in the Panjáb a malcontent uncle of Sultán Ibráhím, named Alá-ud-dín or Alim Khán. This officer, however, was attacked and repulsed by the Delhi army, on which Bábar in person advanced to the attack of Hindustan.

By this time the empire had again begun its often repeated course of disintegration. Besides the rebellions already mentioned, Gujrát had fallen away, and was now under the sway of an independent Muslim family, whose chief was engaged with the Ráná of Méwar for the possession of the province of Málwá. This Hindu potentate was the famous Ráná Sangá, of whom more anon. In the Deccan, besides the Hindú powers, three Muslim States were established in complete independence. Nasrat Sháh ruled, for himself in Bengal, with a splendid capital at Gaur in Maldah. Other minor States, chiefly Hindu, existed in various parts, paying no tribute, and the whole revenues of the Delhi Empire have been estimated as not exceeding the equivalent of £ 4 212,000.

From the first hour of his settlement at Kábul the conquest of India had been Bábar's familiar day-dream. "Sometimes" so he records, "from the misconduct of my *Amirs*, and their dislike of the project, sometimes from the cabals and opposition of my brothers in one way or another the plan was thwarted." At length these obstacles were overcome. Bábar

in the forty-fourth year of his age, obtained a footing in the Panjáb, as we have just seen and, in December, 1525, appeared at the head of a force destined for the invasion and conquest of Hindustán. He set out from the banks of the Sutlej, marching upon Delhi by the direct route. Flushed with his success against his uncle, Sultán Ibráhím marched up to bar the approach, and the opposing armies came in contact at, or near, Pánípat on Thursday the 20th April, 1526. Many times as this neighbourhood has been the scene of critical engagements in which the fortunes of the people of Hindustán have been at stake, the battle now impending was the most decisive and the one most exclusively free from all religious elements of conflict. On one side was the compact army of the invaders, 12,000 hardy Northerners, full of strength and discipline, commanded by an experienced warrior, and supported by what was, for those days, a good park of artillery and competent engineers. On the other side Ibráhím, young and careless, without experience or popularity, was followed by a motley host of ill-assorted men, Rájputs and men from Gwalior and from Oudh, the feudal horsemen of the Maslim chiefs, and, in place of guns, an unwieldy herd of elephants.

The nobles of Hindustán were gathered, in pride and pomp clad in brocaded silk and gilded armour the day passed among them in pageant and revel. Far different was the cheer of the invaders. "Many of my troops," so wrote their leader, "were in great terror and alarm and I can not greatly blame them. They had

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vasion.
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Pantat, 1526.

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GHALS*Description of
the battle*

reason for anxiety, for in a few weeks they had travelled far from their native land, to engage in arms with a nation of whose power they were ignorant. The opposing force was estimated at 100,000 men with 1000 elephants, and the Emperor possessed the accumulated resources of three generations. But he was miserly and inexperienced, negligent in his movements, marching without order, halting without plan, giving battle without forethought." Bábar, on the other hand, took all the precautions that the military art—as then known—could suggest. He passed the day, silently and seriously, protected by the walls of the town of Pánípat, on which his rear rested. His front was shielded by his guns, fortified by breast-works of wagons and gun-carriages, connected by ropes of twisted hide. On his left he made an entrenchment strengthened with an *abattis* of timber. On the following day the Hindustánis streamed out to the attack, but Bábar harassed both their flanks with archers while he thwarted the centre with the fire of his artillery. Goaded, crowded, yet not daring to storm the Mughal camp, the Hindustanis soon fell into confusion, and when Bábar, profiting by their inaction, set upon their columns with a charge of heavy horse, there was no adequate resistance. The incapable Ibráhím showed courage, and was found dead on the field with five thousand of his best cavaliers, with him fell Rájá Vikramáditya, the Hindu prince of Gwalior, believer and infidel involved in a common carnage while defending their common country. Fifteen thousand bodies were counted on

*Death of
Ibrahim*

the field yet quarter was given after resistance had ceased, for we hear that many prisoners were taken

Bábar hastened to Delhi, where he indulged himself in sight-seeing, like a modern tourist. He sent on his eldest son, Mirza Humáyún, to take possession of Agra, but the terrible hot weather of that region set in early, rebels and robbers abounded, and the troubles of the invaders soon made them sigh for the pleasant breezes of their northern homes. To their great credit it is related that, after an expostulation from their leader all agreed to remain with him but one, who was honourably sent to Kábul in charge of the booty.

So fell the short-lived Empire of the Hindustáni Muslims. In the following chapter we will consider the nature of the movement which had led to the events by which their power was overthrown. But in order to the better understanding of this movement it may be well here to devote a few words to the subject of the origin and growth of the race by whom these events were brought about.

It will have been observed that the early Muslim conquerors of India have been spoken of as "Turkománs," or Túrkish, while those who, after overrunning Túrkestán and Kábul, pursued them into their Indian conquests, have been called Mughals. This may suggest that a Mughal—or Mughol—was an embryo Turkomán, and a Turkomán an Islámised Mughal, but that statement would be almost too concise. In real fact the difference was considerable though not very simple.

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The Turko-
mans and
Mughals

*Their origin
and growth*

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We have reason to believe that the Turkománs of the early conquest were a handsome and not uncultured race, in their ranks were found some distinguished men of letters, and a few poets of very great eminence, it can only be possible here to name Firdusi, of Tus, the Court-poet of Mahmúd of Ghazní, and Umar Kháyám, the Astronomer of Meshed. What had been the Mughals of Changez, and his immediate successors, we learn from the descriptions of an Indian writer—Amír Khusrú—who had the misfortune to fall into their hands, as we saw, during the reign of Sultán Balban. He says that they were undersized, dirty, flat-faced savages, speaking an unlettered jargon, and ignorant of every civilised art.

Yet more remarkable is the difference between these barbarians and the followers of Bábar who bore, like them, the name of Mughal. It appears as if the Mongolian of the frosty steppes had, by no more than the mere act of marching southward and the lapse of time, developed into a culture little, if at all, inferior to that of the contemporaneous European, and with no resemblance to the members of the tribe who had remained in Siberia excepting a common idiom and traditions of a common origin. Bábar—himself a Mughal by descent—was a handsome, humane man, well-acquainted with Persian culture though using his paternal Turkish as a medium of record, and—Mughal though he was—in his *Memoirs* he uses the term “Mughal” as a synonym for all that is barbarous and mischievous.

The fact appears to be therefore that, though the

old *Túrkomán* tribes of *Gúr* and *Ghazní* had an origin of their own somewhat distinct from that of the earlier Mughals, and though the Mughals were for a long while nothing but a scourge to the *Túrkománs* in *Hindustán*, yet both nations had gone, by *Bábar's* time, through the same sort of modifying influences. The word *Túrkomán* is considered to be the Persian for "Türk-like," and the word Mughal—or Mughol—which appears to be the more correct—is a corruption of "Mongol," a native of Mongolia. Now we find, from ancient traditions, that *Türk* was the son of *Japhet*, the youngest son of the patriarch *Noah*, while *Tartar* and *Mongol* were his descendants in the sixth generation. But a third branch, retaining the name of *Türk*, the common ancestor, settled in the valley of the *Oxus*, intermarried with the *Tájiks* or resident Aryans, and developed into the races of *Khwarizm* and *Khurasán*, where they were known as *Túrkomíns*, and afterwards as *Uzbegs*—meaning "own-lords" or self-governed. They then became objects of envy and greed to their remote kinsmen the Mughals, when these in turn began their westward movement. Little regard had the Mughals for a common pedigree; all they thought of was to get to a country of warmth and plenty, to taste the delights of battle and of carnage, and to stock themselves with slaves.

All Turanians are believed to have practised capture-marriage, and perhaps these Mongolian Mughals had lost or deserted their lawful wives when they left their native seats, they soon learned to value the charms of

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the Tájik and Túrkomán women The natural fusion ensued helped by the common faith of Islám By the fifteenth century there was little difference among all the races of Transoxiana, whether in religion, manners, or appearance The Tájiks spoke Persian, and those whose fathers had been Turanians often spoke Persian also, but they kept up Túrkish in their own mutual intercourse—a practice which was continued, it may be added long after they had settled in India In this matter of language we have probably the only mark of distinction between Aryan and a “Mughal”, for it is to be noted that the title of “Mughal” is still applied to persons of Persian descent by the people of modern Hindustán

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Section 3.—The adventures of Babar The reaction of the native Muslims in Hindustan, and return of the Mughals.

The Amír Timúr claimed Mughal ancestry His son, Shah Rukh Mirza, had a great-grandson, Umar Shaikh Mirza, who inherited the small principality of Farghána now called Kokand Umar Shaikh's wife, Kutlak Nikár Khánam, was directly descended from Chaghtai, the son of Changez Khán, to whom Transoxiana had fallen as his share of his deceased father's dominions To this couple was born, in 1482, an eldest son to whom were given the Muslim names of Zahir-ud-dín Muhammad, and the Tartar agnomen of Bábar, meaning “Lion” Of Babar's father we know

Babar born
1482

but little, it was probably from his mother that he inherited his adventurous disposition. Of this lady it is recorded that, being compelled by the fortune of war to accept an unwelcome husband, she, with the help of her maids, cut the man to pieces. At the age of twelve Bábar lost his father, and found himself left to defend his inheritance against the brothers of both his parents. So successful was the boy that he expelled both his unkind uncles, and in 1497 overran the district of Samarkand and occupied the capital. But he encountered a more formidable foe in Shaibáni Khan, chief of the Uzbegs, and was at length driven not only from his acquired territory but from that which he had inherited from his father. In 1505 he left Farghána, which he was never to see again.

Bábar's next move was on Bokhára, which had belonged to a member of his family recently murdered by a traitor who had seized the principality. Against this usurper he was powerless, but the Mughal troops in the usurper's service volunteered to follow Bábar, who with their assistance took Kábul in 1504. Here he was soon hemmed in by the rising tide of Uzbek encroachment, and the Uzbegs ultimately occupied Herát on the west and Kandahár on the south. But Shaibáni died in 1510, and the power of his tribe was completely broken by the Persians, with whom Babar contracted an alliance. In 1522 he recovered Kandahár, and two years later obtained—as we have seen—a footing in the Panjáb.

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*Babar's ac-
count of the
Native of
India*

By the battle of Pánípat, and the occupation of Delhi and Agra, Babar only found that he had added to his cares and undertaken fresh tasks. The heat of the climate, the uncivilised state of the people, the discontent of his officers and men, all pressed upon that human weakness from which the most adventurous are not always free. He has recorded his depression and his dislike of India, in several passages of his autobiography, and his well-known complaint—cited in many histories—shows at once the state of the country, as seen through the eyes of a northern foreigner, and the standard of civilisation to which the foreigners themselves had learned to look. There was a strong antipathy, Bábar says, between his people and the natives, and it was very difficult to obtain the necessaries of life. The natives appeared destitute of arts, manners, or knowledge, there were no colleges, or canals, there were neither lamps to give light at night, nor ice to cool one's liquor. Nevertheless, Bábar considered that his honour was pledged to remain until he should have subdued this distasteful domain, and he persuaded most of his followers to act on the same opinion.

Bábar had little more trouble with the native Muslims. Their power was for the present broken, and they could not oppose any further organised resistance in Hindustán proper, though bodies of them still held out, in Oudh and in Behar. Bábar's next serious contest was with the Hindu chief of Udaipur, though he himself, at the moment, considered that the

most formidable of the Hindu powers was much farther off, at Bijáynagar

The chief of Udaipur—who has already been mentioned as contending with the Muslims of Gujarát for the possession—was the famous Ráná Sanga who, by the time when he came in contact with Babar, was but a wreck and fragment of a warrior, having lost an eye in a broil with his brother, an arm in battle with the Lodi Sultán, and having had a limb broken by a round shot besides which, he counted eighty wounds, from lance or sword, in other parts of his body This veteran it was who, in the second year of Bábar's Indian reign, advanced to contest the possession of Hindustán In the month of October, 1527, Bábar, hearing that the Ráná was laying siege to Biána—fifty miles south-west of Agra which was then his capital—set out to deal with him

The Ráná had corresponded with Bábar as a friend, so long as they were both opposed by the native Muslims, and other Hindu chiefs were willing to conciliate the invader for purposes of their own hence a certain amount of delay was caused by negotiation The Mughals were encamped at Sikri—about half way between Agra and Biána—when an accidental encounter between the advanced posts precipitated hostilities Bábar hurried forward fresh troops, with guns, and made an entrenchment on the new ground, at the same time he repented seriously of his past misdoings and resolved to give up the use of intoxicating liquor The whole of his silver flagons and wine cups were broken

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up and the fragments were distributed among the soldiery. Having sworn his officers on the Koran to conquer or to die, Bábar ordered a general advance on the 12th March, but, finding that the enemy was coming on to meet him, threw up fresh entrenchments in front of the village of Kanhwa and awaited the attack of the Hindus for some days. At length, finding the enemy irresolute, Bábar took the step of beginning the attack, which he did under cover of the fire of his artillery. This produced such confusion in the Hindu ranks that he was enabled to charge with his heavy horse and drive the enemy from the field. The pursuit was not carried far, and Babar afterwards blamed himself for the neglect.

*Ráná Sangá
defeated, 1528*

This battle, however, proved decisive. Ráná Sangá fled, and soon after died. The Alwar country yielded and became the appanage of Humáyún Mirza, the heir-apparent. In the following year Chandairi was taken by storm, and the Indian Muslims were reduced to submission in Behar and Oudh. Bábar's health—already undermined by labour and by wine—broke under these unremitting exertions in a new and trying climate. His autobiography stops abruptly on the date of 8th September, 1529, and a little more than fourteen months later he expired peacefully at Agra, 20th December, 1530, and was succeeded by his eldest son.

*Death of Ba-
bar 1530*

The dominions of the Mughal family now extended from Badakshán and Kunduz to the eastern boundary of Behar, and included all the intervening land of Hindustán, but the character of the tribe was too light

and indolent for the proper performance of such a task as is involved in the administration of so large a tract and so great a variety of peoples. We have the testimony of a highly competent observer on this point.

Since I have been among the Mughals thus wrote an Indian Muslim in the camp of Bábar, 'I have observed that their rulers from pride of birth and station fail to superintend affairs personally, and leave everything to subordinates in whom they blindly trust and these ministers act from corrupt motives in whatever case may come before them, whether that of a soldier, an agriculturist, or a rebellious zemindár.'

The shrewd observer who recorded this opinion was an Indian Muslim of the Sur tribe of Afgháns who lived to justify his implied self-estimate and to show that it is not impossible for a devout follower of Islám to be a just ruler of Hindus.

For the present indeed Humayún succeeded to the Empire without a conflict. But the peace was soon disturbed. Sultán Mahmud, brother of the late Emperor Ibráhím Lodí had obtained possession of Bengal and was threatening Behár. Amongst his followers was the writer just quoted, whose original name was Farid an official who had already—while still young—displayed unusual energy and benevolence in the administration of a petty district. He had now begun to be known by the title of Sher Khán and about 1535 while Humayún was away in Gujarát this man raised the standard of Sultán Mahmúd and in

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Humayun
1530

*Recollections
of Sher Mah-
mud, 1535*

Sher Khan

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*Flight of
Humayun
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his name, got possession of the fortress of Chunár. Humáyún had the advantages of hereditary possession, and the command of fenced cities and disciplined posts. But the Kábul country, the recruiting-ground of his best men, was now closed by the hostility of his brother and the actual conquerors on whom he had to rely had become enervated by prosperity and the luxurious life of Hindustán, while he himself, though not deficient in good qualities, was inexperienced and of self-indulgent habits. Sher Khán persuading Sultán Mahmúd to retire to Gaur, undertook the expulsion of the Mughals from Hindustán as he had announced his intention of doing years before. By activity, courage, and diplomatic skill he ultimately wore out the resources of the new Empire, and, after a crowning victory near Kanauj, fought 17th May, 1540, had the satisfaction of seeing the Emperor leave Hindustán—almost without a friend or follower. Of the demoralisation of the Mughals at that time one convincing instance may be given. "Before the enemy discharged an arrow," writes one of the Mughal officers, relating the battle of Kanauj, 'we were virtually defeated. Not a man was wounded, not a gun was fired'.

For fifteen years Humáyún disappears from Indian history. For several of these years his competitor continued his beneficent and admirable career. To few of mankind have been given greater gifts or a nobler reward. In his time—as he himself honestly boasted—the land had peace from the borders of Oudh to the banks of the Sutlej river. The whole

of his administration was based on the principle of union. It was the dissensions of the Hindustánis—as he saw—that had admitted the Mughals, it was in consolidation that the national hopes must be anchored. A devout Muslim, he never persecuted his Hindu subjects. His marches were the bringers of good not of devastation, he laboured ceaselessly and without compromise for the protection of the people, “it behoves the great,” he said, “to be always doing.”

Sher Sháh—as he was now called—divided his territory into 116,000 *parganas* (fiscal unions of townships) in each of which he employed five officials of whom one was a Hindu accountant, and one a Judge to mediate between the officers of the crown and the representatives to the community. A complete civil and criminal code took the place of the illiberal and exclusive law of Islám. The settlements of land-revenue were for one year, based on a measurement of the cultivation and on the nature of the crops. No official was allowed to remain more than two years in one place. All but frontier districts were disarmed. A royal high way, policed and planted, ran from the shores of the Bay of Bengal to the banks of the river Helum, which has been restored in modern times by the Grand Trunk Road mentioned in an early part of this narrative. Three other roads traversed the Empire in other directions, and daily posts carried communications along these roads from end to end.

These are only some of the measures ascribed to Sher Sháh by an impartial historian, many years after

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*The rule of
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*Death of Sher
Shah, 1545*

he and his dynasty had passed away. But in the midst of his labours he found the caprice of fortune by which a man, apparently necessary, may be taken away before his work is done. Sher Sháh was killed by the explosion of a tumbril, as he was directing the siege of a petty fortress, and his work seemed to pass away with his life. Fortunately for the country, a continuator was to arise out of the family of his enemy, under whom the good seed sown by Sher Sháh was to grow up and bear fruit in the next generation. Indeed, so much has it endured, by virtue of its inherent usefulness, as to have entered into modern British administration, so the good still lives, and Sher Sháh's short administration has by no means proved in vain.

*His son, 1545
54*

Return Of
Humayun,
1555

He died at Kálinjar in Bundelkhand, 22nd May, 1545, and was buried at Sásserám, in Northern Bengal, by the side of his own great thorough-fare. He was succeeded by his son, who—after the fashion that vitiates the best forms of personal government—proved an incompetent ruler. He died in November, 1554, and the next year the wandering Humayún returned to India and occupied, in succession, Lahore, Delhi, and Agra. The Indian Muslims—or Patháns, as it will be more convenient to call them henceforward—fell into their old habits of jealous strife, and amid their selfish feuds the Mughals were once more able to penetrate with their more united purposes. The last resource of the Patháns was now no longer in a Muslim General, their one remaining champion was a Hindu chandler named Hemu

What may have been the state of the Hindus and Indian Muslims throughout the country can only be conjectured. The elaborate administrative machinery of Sher Sháh having been allowed to fall into decay, they must have suffered all the more, by contrast with the few past years of order, now that they were once more exposed to anarchy. Again had come the daily devastations of bodies of armed men, men with no common feeling but one, that of contempt and hatred for the harmless peasant and the peaceful burgher, with lust for their women and their goods.

Amid these drums and trappings, and the smoke-clouds of war and arson our last glimpse of the restored Humáyún is in the attitude of worship. It was said of him by a friend that he was a witty, voluptuous opium-eater, kind-hearted and liberal, though loving pomp and show. He entered Delhi in the autumn of 1555, and gladly rested in the palace which he had begun three years before and left to be completed by Sher Sháh. Here, within sight of the lovely mosque which still marks for visitors the third "Pathán" school of Hindustáni architecture, is an octagonal building of three stories, intended—as tradition asserts—to be used as a library. In this building, as the restored Emperor was sitting on the topmost terrace, he heard the muezzin call to evening prayer from the adjacent place of worship. Rising suddenly to obey the summons, he leaned upon his staff, but the point slipped on the polished floor of the terrace. The Emperor fell upon the stair-head, and was thrown headlong to the foot of the stair-case.

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*Death of Hū
mayun, 1556*

*Another
usurper,
Hemu*

After a short illness he sank under his injuries, on the 26th January, 1556, in the forty-ninth year of his age

His death was the signal for the warlike Hindu, to whom the Sur King had entrusted command, to advance from the eastward where he had been collecting his strength On the other side was a leader equally conspicuous by an elevation due to his merits this was Bairám Khán, a Túrkomán born in Badakshán, but seasoned in Indian warfare On the 15th February, he received the news of the Emperor's death, as he was engaged, with the youthful heir to the Mughal Empire, in the pacification of the Panjáb

On receipt of the news Bairám obtained promotion, with the title of *Vakil-i-Mutlak*, or "Vicgerent," and prepared to encounter the Hindustáni army which had advanced upon Delhi Hemu defeated the Mughal garrison in á battle fought under the walls of the city, of which he proceeded to take possession, publicly attending divine service, and causing himself to be proclaimed King under the traditional title of *Vikramaditya* He then advanced, to give battle to Bairám, and the two armies encountered, as had happened before and was to happen again, on the plains of Pánípat

Bairám took the extreme step of slaying with his own hand, the Túrkomán general who had been worsted at Delhi, and he reminded his other officers, in public durbar, that there was no escape for any of them, if the battle went wrong On the other side, the Hindustáni Muslims had been alienated by Hemu's

late proceedings and they failed to support him during the action that ensued. On Hemu's being wounded all opposition ceased. he sank down helpless on his *hauda*, and his elephant was led into the camp of the victors, where the ruthless Bairám cut him down in presence of the youthful sovereign.

The remainder of the country round Delhi was then occupied without further difficulty, though the Panjáb cost another brief campaign. The Sur King died, soon after, in Bengal. and Akbar, in his fourteenth year, found himself, more or less, master of all the Muslim Empire of India to the Narbadá

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*Defeated at
Panipat*



CHAPTER V

*MUGHAL EMPIRE***Section 1.—Rise of the Mughal Empire**

Akbar
born, 1542

The young prince who bore the title of Jalál-ud-dín Muhammad is better known to mankind by the name of Akbar. His mother was a Persian lady whom Humáyûn married during his flight from India in 1541-2, and the prince was born, at Amarkot in Sindh, October 14, 1542. When his father's sudden death raised him, in January, 1556, to the head of the Mughal power in Hindustán, the Muslim Empire was in a most disjointed condition. To the south-east of Hindustán a large tract lay unexplored, in the basin of the Mahánadí river. In Rájputána a still wider province was divided into unconquered Hindu States which exist to this day, under the modern designations of Jodhpur, Jaipur, and Udaipur. In the centre Gondwána was inhabited by wild tribes who had never been tamed, and Málwà was annexed to the Mameluke kingdom of Gujarát. In the Deccan the Hindu Rájás of Telingána had lost their dominions and been expelled from their capital, Warangal, by Kutb Sháh I, a Túrkomán adventurer who founded the Muslim State of Golconda. But the other great Hindu kingdom, that of Karnáta on the east whose

metropolis was at Bijáyanagar, still held out, though more and more tending to be overpowered by the rising strength of the Muslim States formed out of the ruins of the Báhmání kingdom at the beginning of the sixteenth century. These included the States of Bijápur, under the Adil Sháh dynasty, Ahmadnagar, under the line of Nizám Sháh, and that of Golconda already mentioned. There were also smaller Muslim principalities in Berár and Bidar, but in the whole Deccan there was no overlord, or any approach to a federal union. Bengal, which had been attached to the Empire by Sher Sháh, was still held by one of his officers, Bihár and Jaunpur were in a similar condition. In these regions, known in Muhammadan chronicles as "The Eastern Subahs"—large sections of the community had been converted to Islám, while in Hindustán, the hardier character of the native races had enabled them to maintain, to a much larger degree, the religion of their fathers. The country was populous and busy, though from the accounts of wild-beast-hunts (in tracts where no such things could now take place) it has been supposed that forests still remained uncleared.

The task of consolidating all these incoherent fragments devolved, upon a boy of thirteen aided by a foreign general. Bairám Khán was of Túrkomán ancestry, but his family had adopted Persian manners and connections, and had embraced the Shíah form of Islám that is still prevalent among the Persians. When young he had followed the fortunes of Humáyún

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*Accession of
Akbar 1556*

<p>SEC I</p> <p>RIST OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE</p> <p><i>Akbar's Governor</i></p> <p>Balram Khan</p>	<p>and married that prince's sister, so that his appointment as <i>Atálík</i>, or "governor," to the Heir-apparent was a matter of no surprise, the less so as he was a man of undeniable merit and distinction. But his character was unbending and harsh, the Sunní Túrks and Mughals hated him and his violent action in slaying the ill-starred leader of the garrison of Delhi after Hému's success there, was a blunder as much as it was a crime. For that leader was a prominent Mughal nobleman of the kingly line of Chaghtai, and his slaughter, while it may have seem to remove a rival from the minister's path, caused alarm and anger to the other Mughal chiefs.</p> <p>Bairám began his civil administration by opening a revenue-office which he entrusted to a brother Túrko-mán named Muzaffar Khán, who proved a sensible though somewhat arbitrary official. He surrounded himself with other able subordinates, many of whom rose to subsequent distinction. But there was growing up around the young monarch an influence against which all the advantages of the minister—courage, strong will, ability, the memory of past service, and the support of able friends—were all in vain. In the inner chambers of the palace the mother and the foster-father, and the former nurse of infancy, had daily and hourly intercourse with the high-spirited boy, on whose mind a sense of restraint and obliteration could easily be impressed in those domestic conclaves. Even here were elements of party disputes the chief influence was that of Máham Anka, a lady who had</p>
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enjoyed the favour of the late Emperor and was the mother of a son of whom that prince was said to have been the father. Another lady, who had been Akbar's wet-nurse, was married to a Túrkomán named Muhammad Khán Azim who had been ennobled with the title of Shams-ud-dín, Atka, and to whom Humáyún had been indebted for safety when he tried to swim the Ganges after the rout of Kanuaj, in 1540. Máham Anka had great claims on Akbar, having tended him in his exile, after his first infancy, and she was disposed to make those claims a means of furthering the interests of her son. The Atka, on the other hand, had claims both on his own account and his wife's: he was a simple honest man, and by no means favourable to Máham Anka's schemes. Nevertheless, for the moment, all these domestic currents were setting in unison against Bairám Khán. For the first few years, indeed, all was fair and quiet, but Akbar, as he approached his 18th year, began to feel the natural ambition of his situation, and he was the more readily encouraged in the indulgence of such a feeling by his domestic circle, who feared Bairám's character and detested his religious principles. Indeed this conflict—called by later historians the "feud of Turan and Iran"—will be found henceforth constantly disturbing the Mughal Court and the politics of the Empire. At last, in 1558, Akbar took his final resolution. The great Minister was dismissed, and, not very long after went into rebellion in the Panjáb. Akbar ultimately took him prisoner and pardoned him with a recommendation that he should make the pilgrimage

SEC I

RISE OF THE
MUGHAL
EMPIRE*Palace intrigues**Dismissal
of Bairám-
Khan, 1558.*

SEC I

RISE OF THE
MUGHAL
EMPIRE*Consolidation
of Empire,*

to Mecca Bairám set out, but was murdered on the way by a personal enemy Akbar at once began his attempt at uniting the provinces of Upper India under a strong and popular federal government; and to that end was compelled to wage war in various directions. It is one of the many merits of this remarkable man that he never yielded to the temptation, so potent for kings, of making war for its own sake or for mere purposes of personal glory and land-stealing. Gwalior was reduced in 1558, soon after which the Patháns were suppressed in Oudh and Jaunpur. In 1560 was completed the suppression of Bairám's revolt, already mentioned, which was successfully conducted by Shams-ud-dín, Atka. Next year Máham Anka's son was entrusted with the charge of an expedition against Málwá, which was held by an officer of the late Pathán empire he was put to flight, but the Imperial general—Máham Anka's son—whose name was Adham Khán, stained his laurels by outrage and cruelty towards the women of the family, in which Adham was aided and abetted by his mother Máham Anka. The young monarch was much vexed, but suppressed his indignation against the offenders, though he issued a stern prohibition of such conduct in the future. The Pathán Governor of Málwá eventually submitted, and was taken into the Imperial service. Adham Khán, on returning to Court, stabbed the Atka in the durbar-hall of the palace and was slain by Akbar in a scuffle which ensued. Máham Anka died soon after of a broken heart. Akbar had them buried at Delhi, where their tombs are still to be

seen The beginning of 1565 was marked, in a part beyond the sphere of the Empire, by the destruction of the Hindu kingdom of Bijáyanagar, which fell before a league of all the Muhammadan States of the Deccan

Hitherto Akbar's policy was in its stage of experiment and growth The Pathán revival having been put down, the young prince had next to deal with the Uzbek section of his own followers whose contumacy was not entirely suppressed till after a seven years' war in which Akbar displayed heroic personal energy and courage. He also made a short campaign against Hakím Mirza. This was one of the Emperor's brothers who had been made Governor of Kábul and had used his opportunity to invade the Panjáb In the quieting of all these troubles Akbar took an active part, but he could not be in more than one place at a time, and where he was not he found the heads of the military aristocracy almost as troublesome and treacherous when fighting for him as against him. These circumstances led, about 1565, to the employment of new men, and the services of what may be called public men of the professional class formed henceforth a leading feature of Akbar's administration, in peace and in war

Akbár's next undertaking was the bringing of the States of Rájputána into the Imperial system Of these the principal have been named above, the modern appellations being used The nearest and least defensible was what is now called Jaipur, after its modern capital, but was then known as Ambér, in which the Rájá and the dominant class were of the tribe called Kachwáha

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RISE OF THE
MUGHAL
EMPIRE.

The Panjáb,
1566

SEC I

RISE OF THE
MUGHAL
EMPIRE*Rajputana,
1566-68*

These were disposed to be friendly, and Akbar conciliated them still farther by marrying the Rájá's daughter and giving his son a high post in the military service. Mewar under the Gahlot tribe is now Udaipur, the capital founded about this time took its name from the then Rájá; this region was less accessible and less amenable. Udaí Singh himself fled to the mountains in the interior, but the fort of Chitor was stoutly defended by the national hero Jai Mall. The garrison held out against a determined and skilful siege, but when Jai Mall had been slain—by a shot from the Emperor's own matchlock—the walls were scaled and most of the garrison killed fighting. Jodhpur or Márwar, the home of the Rahtor clan, was ultimately won by measures similar to what had succeeded so well at Ambér, and a princess of the Rájá's family was added to the Imperial harem.

It was at this time that a man of letters made his appearance who was destined to exercise considerable influence on the Emperor's opinions, both directly and still more through his brother. This was Shaikh Faizí, a learned and amiable man, of Arab blood, who was introduced to Akbar's notice in the camp before Chitor, and who was in turn the introducer of his younger brother the celebrated Abul Fazl, the subsequent historian of the reign.

*Fatehpur Sik
11 bu 11, 1568*

In 1568 was commenced the country-palace near Agra which is still to be seen, and which was built on the site of the two villages of Fatehpur and Síkrí by whose joint names it is still known. Here was born the

Emperor's first-born son, named originally Salím, but destined to succeed to the Empire by the title of Muhammad Nur-ud-din Jahángir

SEC 1

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MUGHAL
EMPIRE.

In 1572 another campaign was found necessary to restore order in Gujarát, where trouble had been raised by rebels. It was but of short duration, but is noticeable for the armies having been commanded by two Hindus of the Ambér House, the Rájás Mán Singh, and Bhagwan Dás. About the same time appeared another of the Emperor's future companions, a Brahman named Mahesh Das, afterwards better known by his title of Rája Bir Bal, Kabrai. The hill-fort of Kangra, mentioned in an earlier chapter by its ancient name of Nagar Kot, was bestowed on Bir Bal, together with the adjacent fief, but the man in charge held out and the investiture was never completed.

Gujarat, 1572

A still more important addition to the service was Todar, or Tural Mal, a native of the Panjáb, who had been a subordinate in the office of Muzaffar Khán in the beginning of the reign, and was the depository of the traditional policy of Sher Sháh. This official was put in charge of the province of Gujarát, where fiscal oppression and agrarian discontent had bred a fresh outbreak. Next occurred a rising in the eastern districts fomented by the adherents of the fallen dynasty of Sher Shah which was not put down till 1575. But, while suppressing, with a strong but lenient hand, any armed opposition from the Patháns, Akbar was always ready to learn lessons in the school of their deceased hero. The policy of Sher Sháh was gradually adopted through the whole of Hindustán. The land-revenue was settled

Todar Mal

SEC I

RISE OF THE
MUGHAL
EMPIRE.*Abul Fazl
engaged, 1575*

or an equitable basis which left adequate return to the agriculturists, who were further protected against the evils incidental to the Imperial marches and progresses by special regulations carefully enforced

It was in 1575, on the Emperor's return from the Bengal war, that he first engaged the services of Faizi's brother Abul Fazl, then just eighteen. And with this event, pregnant with future consequences, ends the first, or preparatory period of Akbar's reign. All was now in readiness for the great undertaking, not to be completed, indeed, by Akbar, yet forming the foundation for the process of formation which—with many long and disastrous interruptions—has since been going on in India. For Akbar's ideal has never long been entirely lost sight of, and is now, to all seeming, in an accelerated course of realisation. The Mughal Empire was the prototype and parent of the modern India.

Akbar's masters

The means by which Akbar was enabled to found that Empire were, first of all, his own ardent soul, and, in the next place, the fortunate conjunction of a number of good men uniting the learning of their time with a readiness for innovation quite unusual in eastern countries. Foremost among these was Todar Mal, who had been trained by Sher Sháh, had worked under Muzaffar Khan, and was of strenuous industry in spite of his somewhat advanced years. Other leading Hindus were Man Singh and Bhagwan Dás, princes of Ambér connected with the Rájputs by blood and with the Mughals by marriage, and Bir Bal, a witty companion without much practical ability. Of Faizi something has been said above, he took no active part in

affairs, but his principles deeply affected the Emperor's mental habits, while, in the younger and more energetic brother, Abul Fazl, he possessed a friend and servant who was able not only to inspire his thoughts but to execute his decisions and to record his deeds. Bir Bal perhaps supplied the sceptical element.

We have seen how, in the early part of his reign, Akbar took Hindu wives, these ladies preserved their native creed and used their domestic influence to incline the Emperor to tolerance. The employment of Hindus in the public service was the next step, and was rewarded by results. At a later time he lamented that he had not gone farther, and he came to hate the bigoted side of his own religion with an ardour that sometimes failed to discern the great elements of good which it contained. He was not a deep scholar, but he was a man of action and a lover of mankind, with a strong sense of duty. On such a nature the influence of the bold thinkers around him made great impression. Further, Akbar was earnestly bent on making India—so far as he ruled it—into a united nation, and we hear, from his biographer and friend, of nightly debates in council, and silent meditations in the loneliness of dawn, “upon the problems of life and his own peculiar task.”

In the year 1577 the Muslim *kalma* disappeared from coinage and liturgy. the name of the prophet was also discountenanced for male infants. In 1579 keen discussions agitated the council as to whether the Emperor should be head of the Church, for as a

SEC I

RISE OF THE
MUGHAL
EMPIRE*Employment
of Hindus**Unity of In-
dia, his aim*

SFC I

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MUGHAL
EMPIRE
*Religious
victus.*

king of men he desired also to be leader of opinion. It was not exactly as Khalif, or Muslim Pontiff, that Akbar desired to do this. He had dreams of a new mixed system, in which was to be embodied the principle that there might be reason and good faith under all forms of doctrine. Especially was he disposed to favour Hinduism—in its purer and less idolatrous forms. He transferred to that system some part of the regard which he professed for those of his subjects to whom it was dear. This is the record of Abul Fazl himself. Bir Bal impressed him with the old Aryan worship of the sun, which he learned—perhaps from Guebre refugees—to associate with fireworship. Christian missionaries advanced arguments in favour of the divinity of Jesus, and took part in debates with sages of Islām.

The result of all this was that in 1580 a convocation of Muslim doctors issued a covenant in which they admitted the claims of the Emperor to decide in doctrinal controversy, subject to a saving-clause that there was to be no opposition to the Koran. The Emperor about the same time appeared in the pulpit and began the recitation of a hymn composed by Faizi, which shows a high ideal of the royal office. The system favoured by him was called *Din Ilāhi*, and was one of eclectic theism. Its first members were enrolled and decorated with a distinctive badge. With the one exception of Bir Bal, however, the Hindu magnates held aloof, so that, as a means of union, the system failed in its very outset. This was the more to be regretted because it included many social reforms the

adoption of which would have anticipated the labours of the future, and brought Hindustán "under one umbrella" of civilisation

Such things as could be done, single-handed, Akbar, no doubt, attempted. A census was ordered, a Domesday-book was set on foot. Todar Mal was directed to proceed with his improvements. An attempt was made to call in worn-out coins and to fix the value of those left in circulation. But these must be regarded as merely administrative measures. It is only by embodying in statute law the needs and aspirations of the community that governments can enter into permanent organic union with those they govern and for this the time was not ripe. For the idea of law, as then regarded by all classes in Hindustán, was opposed to legislation by any governing man or even body of men. Hindu and Muslim alike conceived that the class to which each, respectively, belonged had been provided with positive directions, revealed by the Deity, which could neither be added to nor diminished by any human authority. In such conditions there could be no permanent legislation, nor any record of enactment, whether for observance, reform, or repeal.

In 1585 Akbar's troublesome brother died at Kábul, and the two Amber princes were sent there to take charge of the government vacated by his death. Zain Khan and Rajá Bir Bal were sent into the Yusafzai country, where the former lost his army and the latter his life, in February, 1586. Mán Singh and Todar Mal,

Src I

RISE OF THE
MUGHAL
EMPIRE

*Adminis-
trative mea-
sures*

A.D. 1585

SEC I

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MUGHAL
EMPIRE
Kashmir,
1587

in a fresh campaign retrieved the military reputation jeopardised by the Muslim general, and in 1587 they took and occupied Kashmir. In 1589 Bhagwan Das and Todar Mal died, Abul Fazl records of the latter that he left no equal in Hindustán, either for rectitude, manliness, or ability. "Careful to keep himself free from selfish ambition, he devoted himself to the service of the State, and so earned everlasting fame." Such is the testimony of a colleague.

A campaign undertaken in Orissa had for its object the protection of the Hindu temple of Jagannáth against the fanaticism of Muslim neighbours and Ván Singh, whom Zain Khán had replaced at Kábul, was sent to punish the offenders by whom it had been despoiled. He encountered and routed them near Midnapur, and the news of the victory reached Akbar at Lahore, about the end of the year 1592. Although the deaths of some of his advisers must have been a blow to the Emperor, yet we may take this period as that of the final establishment of the monarchy. There was an annual revenue of nearly ten *lacs* of rupees, though many vexatious items had been abolished, especially the odious *jaziya* or Hindu poll-tax. Out of this income Akbar maintained a standing army, paid in cash, and composed of artillery, cavalry, and matchlockmen. The heads of the military system were the *mansabdars*, or peers, classified according to the number of mounted militia at which they were theoretically rated; many of these were Hindus. Of that race a far more favourable view had come to be

taken than that of Bábar's *Memoirs* "The Hindus," says Abul Fazl, "are pious, affable, courteous, cheerful, fond of knowledge loving justice, able in business, grateful, and of unbounded fidelity in their words and dealings" He admits, however, that they had in former times earned just censure by a backward state of material comfort and refinement, which the Emperor had done much to rectify

In 1595 the Emperor suffered another loss, the gentle, faithful friend and counsellor, Shaikh Faizi died on 5th October Next year there was a total failure of the monsoon-rains followed by a general famine, during which—in spite of active measures of relief taken by the Emperor—suffering was both wide and deep The princes of the blood, too, began to cause great anxiety, they had probably been spoiled by indulgence, and were debauched and incompetent one of them, Sultán Murád, died of the effects of drink, 1st May, 1599 Next year the heir-apparent, Mirza Salím, was sent on a campaign in Udaipur, but left the work to Mán Singh, his maternal uncle Sultán Duryál, a third son, was placed by Akbar in charge of Khandesh, while Abul Fazl was deputed to complete the conquest of Ahmadnagar, in the Deccan, where war had been going on for five years, and on the accomplishment of this task was rewarded by the government of the Maratha country Hence, however, he was recalled in consequence of certain charges which he had conceived himself bound to bring against the heir-apparent, and on his way to Court this able

SEC I

KING OF THE
MUGHAL
EMPER

*Familial troubles,
1595
1602*

SEC. I

RISE OF THE
MUGHAL
EMPIRE.

and loyal minister was attacked and murdered, by an *agent of the prince, 13th August, 1602*

The blow staggered Akbar His best helper gone, his eldest son being the cause, all the Emperor's hopes seemed at once blighted, and with his hopes his temper too failed, and he became irascible and hasty In August, 1603, his mother died, in April, 1604, Sultán Danyál followed his brother Murád on the path prepared by intemperance In 1605 Akbar's health broke down under his troubles, his sick bed was disturbed by debates and intrigues for the succession, to which he had to put a stop by the exercise of a will even then respected The reconciliation of Salím with his father is commemorated by an inscription still to be seen in the palace at Agra On the night of the 15th October, (old style) the greatest of oriental despots passed away

Death of Akbar, 1605

The Empire was consolidated, the agriculturists were confirmed in the possession of their land and its produce, subject to a fixed payment to the revenue; a standing professional army enforced order The future depended on character of the next Emperor

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Section 2 —The equilibrium of the Mughal Empire.

Salim or
Jahangir,
1605

Salím had been a bad son, a bad husband, and a bad father Although his habits were sufficiently under control to save him from the premature death that cut off his brothers, he was an habitual drunkard But, with his elevation to the supreme power, his character

seemed to rise. A dignified, unselfish hero, like his father, he never became but he showed honour to that father's memory. His eldest son having gone into rebellion was treated with lenience, and when Salím, or Jahángír as he was now called again ventured on matrimony, he became a pattern of conjugal tenderness and fidelity.

Under his reign the Empire was for the most part peaceful, and Akbar's system went on under trained officials. There were twelve great provinces, yielding an average revenue of a million sterling over each was a Viceroy, or *Názim*, assisted in finance by a trained man of business, usually a Hindu. Each Province, again was subdivided into Chief-Commissionerships, Commissionerships, and Districts called respectively *Sarkar*, *Parganá* and *Dastur*, and in all of which a similar duality of administration prevailed. Law suits among Muslims were disposed of by *Kázis* and Imperial Chief Justices, but it was provided that Hindus should have their cases heard by a Bráhmaṇ which seems to imply the administration of Hindu law. Over all sat the Emperor professing to hear appeals, which were, doubtless, sifted before they came to him and perhaps his judicial functions were mainly symbolical.

For it must not be supposed that a reformed sot, like Jahángír, uxorious and indolent, would take much personal trouble to see to the carrying out of justice or indeed of any other part of the administration of a vast Empire. We learn from the English ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, how much crime and how little good

SEC II

THE FOURTH
PART OF THE
MUGHAL
EMPIRE,

The adminis-
tration

SEC II

THE EQUILIBRIUM OF THE
MUGHAL
EMPIRE.*Event of the
reign*

government went on under the specious pretences of this reign. Nevertheless, with the exception of proceedings at the concluding period, in which the personal liberty of the Emperor and his able, interfering, consort, Núr Jahán, was for a moment lost, little occurred to draw the attention of historians during this reign of two and twenty years. A chronic war, long waged in the Deccan, was ended for the time by the submission of Ahmadnagar. In Udaipur the Rájá was persuaded to come to court, the successful leader of the Mughals in both cases being Sultán Khurram, the Emperor's second son, destined to succeed him as Sháh Jahan. Then the Emperor, stimulated by his wife—who wanted to secure the succession for her son-in-law—became suspicious of his capable son and persecuted him. Kandahár being taken by the Persians, the Empress's son-in-law was sent against it, all Sháh Jahán's fiefs being at the same time transferred to him, and upon this Sháh Jahán raised the standard of revolt, being pursued by his father's army the prince took refuge in Telingána, whence he made his way into Bengal. Here he established himself for a while, but being again threatened by superior force took his way back to the Deccan, where he made friends with the local powers. But he was on the point of ruin when he was saved by the rebellion of Mahábát Khán, his father's best general, who took the Emperor and Empress as prisoners to Kábul, as has been already hinted.

*Rebellion of
Shah Jahán*

Aided by the talents and energy of his consort the

Emperor began soon to turn the tables on his captor. The body guard—a corps of young gentlemen-cadets—fell upon the Rájputs in immediate charge of the royal couple and finally the Emperor was completely emancipated by a stratagem successfully carried out at a review. Mahábát Khán fled to the Deccan where he joined Sháh Jahán and the Emperor passed the short remainder of his days in comfort and independence.

On the 28th October, 1627, Jahángír died of asthma on his way down from Kashmir, the Empress attempted to make her son-in-law Emperor, but Sháh Jahán accompanied by Mahábat hastened up to Lahore where the court then was, and after a brief struggle he obtained possession of the Empire. He proved a sumptuous yet prudent ruler, in whose reign most of the best Mughal architecture arose, yet a large treasure was accumulated. In the early part of his reign the Muslim kingdoms were still entire and independent, and the rebellion of an Afghán officer—Khán Jahán, Lodi—caused trouble for three years. The rebellion was crushed and the rebel slain fighting, but the Nizám Sháh of Ahmadnagar, having taken his part, was now attacked, and the chief of Bijánour joined him in defence. In 1635 Sháh Jahán set off in person to attempt the conquest of the Deccan, after a little indecisive fighting and the capture of Ahmadnagar, peace was patched up, and the Emperor turned his attention to Kandahár. This city and province were surrendered to the Mughals by the Governor, Ali

SEC II

THE EARLY
FILM OF THE
MUGHAL
EMPIRE*Capture of
Jahán**Death of
Jahán,
1627*Shah Ja-
han

SEC II

THE LQUH I
TRIUM OF THE
MICAL
EMPIRE*Incursion of
the Uzbegs,
1646**Loss of Kan
dahar, 1648**Illness of
Shah Jahan,
Cir. 1656*

Mardán Khán, who soon after conducted a successful campaign in Balkh and Badakshán. Next year the war was renewed by an army of Rájputs headed by the Rájá of Kota, and these Hindus won great honour by the hardihood and valour that they displayed in mountain warfare.

In 1646 these northern provinces were overrun by an incursion of Uzbegs, on which the Emperor's younger son, the afterwards celebrated Aurangzeb, was sent against them. He failed completely, lost the greater part of his army, and only saved his own life with the greatest difficulty. He returned to court, at Kábul, about the end of 1647. Next year Kandahár was once more taken by the Persians, and has never, since then, formed permanent part of the Indian Empire, though besieged twice, without success, by Aurangzeb and once by the heir-apparent Dárá Shikoh. In 1654 the revenue-system of Todar Mal was extended into the Mughal possessions south of the Narbadá, and the prince Aurangzeb was sent to attack the Muslim kingdom of Golconda. The minister, Mír Jumlá, conceiving himself ill-treated by his king, joined the invaders, and Golconda submitted to become tributary in 1656. Divergence between the Emperor and his able son became evident on this occasion, the former being content with nominal submission and moderate payments, while the latter aimed at the total ruin of the overpowered king. Aurangzeb's next step was to make an unprovoked attack on Bidar and on Bijápur, in the midst of which he was disturbed by news of his

father's dangerous sickness

The crown-prince, Dárá Shikoh, had assumed the regency, but Aurangzeb persuaded his other brothers to oppose. He also marched towards Agra, but in a less decisive attitude. The able ruler of Amber, Rájá Jai Singh, went against one of the Princes, Sultán Shuja, whom he completely defeated and put to flight. Another Hindu chief, Rájá Jaswant Singh, was deputed to attack Sultán Murád, but Aurangzeb effected a junction with his brother, and the two united armies inflicted a defeat on Jaswant Singh, at Ujain, aided (it is supposed) by the treachery of a Muslim officer. Jaswant thereupon retired to the fortresses of Márwar. The brothers continued their advance upon Agra, under the walls of which Dárá encountered them. They were again victorious, Dárá fled towards the Panjáb, and Aurangzeb took possession of the palace and person of his father. This was in June, 1658, and the ex-Emperor continued to live, in honourable captivity, for nearly eight years more at the end of which he died in the apartments still shown as his in the fortress at Agra.

Aurangzeb next imprisoned his brother Murád, and assumed the government under the title of Alamgír. He was crowned at Delhi 20th August, 1659. In the following month Dárá, who had been captured and brought to court, was put to death in prison.

This was the palmy period of the Empire. The territory directly ruled was bounded on the north by the Uzbeg dominions in Transoxiana, on the south

SEC II

THE FOURTH
BRITH OF THE
MICHAI
IMPERI

*Regency of
Dará Shikoh*

*Opposed by
his brother*

And defeated.

*Aurangzeb
assumed Go-
vernment,
1658*

*Shah Jahán
died 1666*

*Aurangzeb
crowned,
1659*

*Extent of the
Empire*

SEC II

THE EQUILIBRIUM OF THE
MUGHAL
EMPIRE*The revenue**Shah Jahan's
reign*

by the river Godávarī and its tributaries, extending in breadth from the western shores of Gujarát to the Bay of Bengal. From the testimony of the *Bádshá-náma*, confirmed by that of the French traveller, Bernier, it may be safely concluded that the revenue was about twenty-two *Khōrs* of *rupees* of which fifteen and three quarters were derived from land alone besides which was a fluctuating income, derived from escheats, fines, and gifts of great subjects. The earlier measures of Alamgír raised the regular revenue to thirty-one *khōrs* in 1666, if we may trust the Italian physician, Manucci, which nearly tallies with the estimates of contemporary observers. The splendour and efficiency of Sháh Jahán's administration are spoken of by several European visitors, while the beauty and to some extent at least, the usefulness of his public works is shown by the works themselves, which still win the admiration of all beholders. First come palaces and tombs, for the first thought of the best oriental despot is usually for his own comfort, splendour, and glory. In this class the palaces of Agra and Delhi, and the famous *Taj-Bibi-ka-Rauza* near Agra, are admirable specimens. Next come buildings raised to the service and glory of God, among which the *Motí Masjid*, or Pearl-Mosque, of Agra, and the *Famá Masjid* of Sháhjahánábád, stand forth as the most beautiful things of their sort in India. But Sháh Jahán was not altogether neglectful of more general and material uses: he repaired and developed the canal of Firoz Tuglak referred to in the account

of that king, and he made two new canals, one taken from the Rávi in the Panjáb, which has been improved by the British until it has become the second work of its kind in the Empire

SEC. II.

THE FOULI
PERIOD OF THE
MUGHAL
EMPIRE.

Sháh Jahán, like most of his race, was hospitable to strangers, and many Europeans visited his court. To them, and to the resident Italian physician Manucci, we are indebted for the means of comparing and correcting the more vague and flattering accounts of the native historians. By Asiatic standards the government was evidently good and successful, and there is no doubt but that the refinement of the richer classes, and the material wellfare and happiness of all—though inferior to those of a modern European nation—were greater than in any oriental country of the time. Bernier and others, who had seen Persia and the country of the Osmanlí Túrks, are decisive as to the superior greatness of the cities, cultivation of the fields, and efficiency of the police in the India of Shah Jahán.

*Testimonies of
Europeans
observers*

This period therefore, is the period when the Mughal Empire, founded by Bábar and Akbar, may be regarded as having been in equilibrium. We are now to see how it declined and fell.

"Sháhjahán," says the traveller Tavernier, who visited his court, "reigned not so much as a king over his subjects but rather as a father over his family and children. This great king," as he elsewhere says, "in whose time there was such strictness in the civil government and particularly for the secu-

*Tavernier's
voyage
1659-1667*

SEC II

THE EQUILIBRIUM OF THE
MUGHAL
EMPIRE.*Alamgir's*
reign, 1659

rity of the highways that there was never any occasion to put any one to death for robbery " Tavernier was personally acquainted with the country between 1651 and 1669

The new Emperor Alamgir (Aurangzeb) was an exceptional man with very little Mughal blood in his veins, and not much of the soldierly habits of the race whose nominal head he was For some years he allowed things to continue in the grooves that had been established during the last three reigns In the account of the Empire at that period recorded by the court physician, Manucci, we are told that —

" Nothing can possibly be more uniform than the administration of justice in the States of the Mogul The viceroys, the presidents of provinces, the chiefs of cities and towns, perform precisely in the place of their appointment the part enacted by that Mogul in Agra or in Delhi, subject always to the Imperial control "

Powers of life and death, according to the same account, were vested in the heads of the local governments News-writers appointed by the Emperor were employed to transmit to the capital periodical reports of all transactions " Such," concludes the Italian doctor, " are the institutions of this great Empire They have not been represented as free of all defect, but exhibiting a state in which barbarism is so tempered by equity as to render the Government of the Mughal Empire little behind that of any other nation " And the Frenchman Bernier, after stating a number

of evils, finishes his work in these words --

" Those who will a little weigh my whole story will not take Aurangzeb for a barbarian but for a great and rare genius, a great statesman, a great king "

Such was the appearance of things for the first years of the reign of Aurangzeb, or as he ought now to be styled the Emperor Alamgír At the end of 1662 he had a severe attack of sickness, on recovering from which he proceeded to Kashmír in search of repose and recovery of strength Up to this time he was only known as a prince who united the ability and ambition of his father to the religious zeal of his mother,—a lady of Persian blood, the niece of the late Empress Núr Jahán It could not have been then observed that these two qualities were calculated to help to make him the beginner of the ruin of his line the love of power and the zeal for uniformity To this day his name retains its hold among Indian Muslims as that of their greatest ruler, and writers nearer to his day can hardly find words sufficiently laudatory Yet there can be little doubt that the sources of his misfortunes were inherent in his character His failure was not only the result of ambition and piety, for these were the very qualities which made the success of his English contemporary Cromwell He failed from an obstinate minuteness as to detail, a restless love of over-Government, and because he was bent on taking his own prejudices as the measure of his people's rights

In 1664 began the struggle which, apparently very

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THE LOUISE
BRUNO OF THE
MUGHAL
EMPIRE

*Alamgir's
character*

SEC II

THE EQUIV-
ALIB OF THE
MUGHAL
EMPIRE*Struggle with
the Marathas
1664*Sivaji
Bhonsla*His tempo-
rary submis-
sion*

unequal, was to co-operate with internal discontent in preparing the ruin of the Empire. The Maráthas, a Hindu tribe in the Western gháts, had found a leader in a young man of Rájput blood whose father had been in the service of the Muslim King of Bijapur. This was Sivají Bhonsla, who had come into notoriety by rebelling against the Bijapur government and murdering its general Afzul Khán. Nawab Shaistá Khán, an old officer of Shah Jahán's, next began operations against Sivají, but they ended in a complete and almost ludicrous failure. Then the two Rájput chiefs, Jai Singh and Jaswant Singh were sent, and for the time, they met with more success. The brigand leader was beaten, made to surrender, and finally sent to Court. Jai Singh consenting to be security for his good behaviour, Sivají was received by the Emperor with leniency, and was honoured with the rank of *Panj Hazárí* which, till lately, had been reserved for princes of the blood.

Up to this period, then, all had gone well. On the 22nd June, 1666, the old Emperor died in his Agra palace, and all competition seemed removed from the path of his son. The Empire was compact and peaceful, the army was large, obedient, and under good officers among whom were two sovereign Hindu princes who willingly and loyally served the Empire, the treasury was full, and Alamgír himself proud of his knowledge and strength, at that time of life which, for men of good constitution and well ordered habits, is scarcely more than middle-age.

Section 3. The fall of the Mughal Empire

Alamgir was about fifty years old when his downward course began. Rájá Jai Singh, the old and able ruler of Amber, who had faithfully served two generations of Mughal Emperors, died 10th July, 1667. Sultan Muazim, afterwards known as the Emperor's successor with the title of Bahádur Sháh was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan in Jai Singh's place. The Rájá was hardly gone before the Emperor began to persecute the Hindus. Discontent from this cause became general in the beginning of 1669, when the great temple of Kes-hav Rai was demolished at Muttra, and the mosque erected which still stands upon the site. The Marátha leader had by this time retired from Court and resumed his wild freebooting life assuming the title of Rájá, which the Emperor was fain to acknowledge. It were well for him had he kept faith with the Marátha. But his suspicious and obstinate nature would never allow him to trust or make friends fully. He tried to entrap Sivaji, but the latter was too crafty and finally engaged in open rebellion which never ceased to the end of his life. The same fault prevented the Emperor from confiding to his son a force sufficient to have crushed the rebellion while it was, perhaps, still possible to have done so. In the north meanwhile, the persecuted Hindus had begun reprisals. A peasant rising disturbed the lower Panjáb and penetrated within three days' march of Delhi. We have few details of this affair, but it was important and lasted some time. It was also, most likely, the first impulse in the formation of the

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OF THE
MUGHAL
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*Per edition
of the Hman*

*First revd,
at 1667*

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OF THE
MUGHAL
EMPIRE*Further per-
secution*

subsequently dangerous power of the Sikhs In the same year the hill-tribes rose, routed the Imperial general, and set up a pretender as king of Kábul These troubles lasted till 1676, and so far were they from intimidating the Emperor, that he was about the same time goaded by failure and irritation into the most fatal step that he had yet taken In one edict he cashiered all the Hindus with whom the revenue service was manned, replacing them by Muslims whose only qualification was—in most cases—their orthodoxy In a second he revived the *jazīya* the hateful capitation-tax in lieu of conversion by which not only were the Hindus humiliated by the treatment due to conquered races but were burdened with a double impost In vain the Hindus of the capital gathered round the palace gates with petitions of remonstrance, the morose bigot who had already closed the balcony in which his predecessors had been wont to meet their subjects, now ordered the suppliants to be charged by war-elephants and cavalry, until many were killed and all the survivors were driven from the scene

The next offence given was on the occasion of the death of Jaswant Sing, of Márwar the second of the great Rájput servants of the Empire The Rájá died in the Afghán hills, and, as his widow was bringing down their children to Jodhpur she halted outside the walls of Delhi The Emperor wished to seize the children, for the purpose, presumably, of keeping them as hostages—perhaps converting them to Islám The faithful Rájputs of her escort saved the Ráni and her

boys by a mixture of stratagem and fighting and they reached their home, having become instead of friends eternal foes. The whole of the Rájput States, with the exception of Amber, took up their quarrel, and the Emperor had a fresh quarrel on his hands. In 1680 three of the princes, his sons, led separate columns into Rájputana, and by express order of the Emperor laid waste the fields, towns and villages. The temples of Jodhpur were razed to the ground, and the images carried away, a like fate overtook the shrines of Udaipur, where twenty priests were slain in the spoliation of one temple. The times of the old Túrkish invaders seemed to have returned. Ráná Ráj Singh, of Udaipur, remonstrated vainly, in a spirited letter the original of which is said to be still preserved, and the alienation of the oldest and noblest of the Hindu races was completed, for ever. The temples of Muttra and Benares were desecrated at the same time.

Sultán Akbar, one of the princes who had been employed in this foolish and criminal work was so shocked at its result that he espoused the cause of the Rájputs and went into rebellion. A campaign ensued in which his two elder brothers were employed to pursue him, and the young man was eventually driven from Rájputána in 1681.

While this struggle was going on the less aristocratic Hindus of the western Deccan availed themselves of every opportunity for land-breaking and plunder. Yet the Emperor found time and resources, to attempt the conquest of Golconda and Bijapur. The State of

Src III

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OF THE
MUGHAL
EMPIRE.

SFC III

THE FALL
OF THE
MUGHAL
EMPIRE*Campaign in
the Deccan,
1683*

Ahmednagar had already been subdued by Sháh Jahán Sivají had died in 1680, and his death took off some of the Marátha pressure, especially as his son and successor, Sambhají, had made a temporary alliance with the Imperial Government. He was, however, joined by Sultán Akbar, the refugee prince who had been expelled from Rájputana, and the Emperor consequently took fresh offence and alarm. At last, in 1683, he resolved to proceed to the Deccan in person, and direct war at the same time against the Muslim states and against Sambhají. Bijapur fell in 1686, and the State was annexed to the Empire the same fortune befell Golconda in the following year though it may be doubted if the Emperor did not rather add to his task than diminish it by leaving the Maráthas with one enemy in the place of three.

In 1688 Sambhají was deserted by the Emperor's rebellious son, who retired to Persia, where he died in 1707. The Marátha chief was soon after taken and put to death by the Emperor. The Deccan was now in utter anarchy, the Mughals only held authority in the place where their camp might chance to be pitched. The Maráthas vexed the land, and even the Imperial cantonments, with flying columns which could never be brought to a pitched battle. Another of the Emperor's sons began rebellious courses, Zulfikar Khán, his best general, was suspected—correctly as we know now—of intriguing with the enemy, the heir-apparent was suspected also—though wrongfully. Nature added her vexations the Emperor, now past

*State of anar-
chy*

eighty, had made a standing camp on the banks of the Bhímá it was swept away by a sudden flooding of the river with the loss of 12 000 men and cattle innumerable other similar calamities followed. Amidst all these portents the indomitable old bigot held on; regardless of tempest, famine and pestilence, conducting every branch of his over-minute system in person while he shared all the exposures and dangers of the private soldier. As his father had long ago foretold—in words that he has himself recorded—his universal suspicion hindered his being well served, he never really pardoned or trusted his eldest son, who was in truth deserving of all confidence and favour he even—as his letters show—had learned to mistrust his own wisdom. His finances failed, his troops mutinied for lack of pay, the revenue-agents enriched themselves at the expense of the contributors and of the State, the agriculturists abandoned the fields and betook themselves to plunger. In these clouds Alamgír's sun slowly set at last death approached and, weary as he may well have been, the old despot beheld its approach with terror. He made an agitated will, proposing the partition of the Empire among his three remaining sons and on the 21st February, 1707, departed from the scene where he had caused and suffered so much trouble for half-a-century. The great Muslim historian of the time Khafi Khán plainly says:—‘Every plan and project that he formed came to little good every enterprise that he undertook was long in execution and failed in the end.’ Curiously enough this writer,

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OF THE
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*Death of
Alamgír, 21
Feb.,
1707.*

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EMPIREBahadur
Shah

while justly extolling the Emperor's many merits, considers that his misfortunes were due to his want of severity to the modern inquirer almost the reverse will appear

When this extraordinary man was no more his eldest son was at Kábul where he had been despatched in a sort of honourable exile. His brothers, Azím and Kám-baksh, were minded to carry out the advice of their father's will, up to, or beyond the letter. Azím, particularly, who could dispose of almost all the military resources of the Empire, marched towards Agra followed by the army of the South. Muazim came down from the hills to meet him. Already an elderly man and of mild and amiable character, he endeavoured to soothe his brother's ambition by amicable arrangements. This gentleness was worse than useless, only serving to increase the confidence and the ambition of the younger prince. Rejecting all his brother's overtures Azím marched on, and was encountered on the Gwalior road between Agra and the Chambal, on the same plains which had witnessed the victory of their father over Dará half-a-century before. The result was unexpected. Azím was killed and his army put to flight, after which Bahádur Sháh—as the victor was now called—began arrangements for securing peace to the country. He showed favour to the Hindus, attended to complaints of maladministration, and reformed the coinage. But trouble soon arose from the Emperor's remaining brother Kám-baksh. This prince, whose mother had been a Hindu, was by no means

disposed to yield the sovereignty of the Deccan, where he had remained when Azín went north to fight for the Empire. Zulfikár Khán, the great general of the last reign, was still in command there, and he proceeded against the prince without awaiting orders. The Emperor hastened to the scene, but when he arrived the Prince had been already beaten, and taken prisoner after fighting bravely and receiving mortal wounds. He died in camp, notwithstanding the most tender care that the Emperor could bestow upon him, and the attendance of European surgeons.

The Hindus had been too deeply wounded by the conduct of the late Emperor to be won over in a moment. The son of Jaswant Singh remained aloof at Jodhpur, Jai Singh II took advantage of the Emperor's occupations in the Deccan to expel the Imperial Officers from the State of Amber, or Jaipur, as it was beginning to be called. Not only so, but new forms of insubordination were beginning to appear, suggested by Maráṭha success. The Játs, a community settled a little way south of Agra, set up a chief of their own while a kindred people in the lower Panjáb, under the name of Sikhs, were stirring under the impulse of a new fanaticism.

We have seen how Akbar's inclinations tended towards a universal Theism. But the attempt to blend the doctrines of conquerors and conquered into a national creed was older than Akbar. It had been attempted in Bengal by Kabír, a disciple of the school of Rámá-nand, who, in the beginning of the fifteenth century,

SEC III

THE FALL
OF THE
MUGHAL
EMPIRE*The Játs.**The Sikhs.*

SEC III

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OF THE
MUGHAL
EMPIRE*The origin of
the sect**Their revolt
suppressed,
1711**Death of
Bahadur
Shah, 1712*

had taught a sort of popular Pantheism, and the equality of mankind. A few years later a holy man in the Panjáb, named Nának, had proclaimed similar doctrines there. *Sikhs*, "disciples," were all equal, in whatever caste they might have been born. the *Korán* and the *Vedas* were held equally divine, but the chief practical bearing of the system was to create a new social fabric more liberal than that of the Hindus. Whether the *Satnamis* of Narnaul, whom we saw rebelling in 1670, were affiliated to this sect is not clear, but it is certain that about 1709, its members began to assume an aggressive attitude, and ere long raised a peasant revolt. On this the Emperor wisely attempted to conciliate the Rájputs by large concessions, and sent a large force under the Commander-in-Chief of the army to subjugate the Sikhs. The object was accomplished after a long campaign, at the end of which the General died, about January 1711. He had also been Prime Minister, in which post he was succeeded by the heir-apparent, Prince Azím-us-Shan. The Emperor died at Lahore 28th February, 1712, after a not unprosperous reign, his death was followed by confusion, and by the usual fight for the succession, in which Azím was defeated and slain by the partizans of his younger brother, who ascended the throne with the title of Jahándár Sháh.

The Mughal Empire had now lasted for a century and a half, during which there had been five Emperors of whom every one had been a man of some merit, and several of commanding ability. But the virtue of the

dynasty was now exhausted, and the future wars for the succession failed to bring forward such men as had been heretofore produced by the survival of the fittest.

The reigns of Jahandár, and Farukh Siyyar, are only noticeable for the signs of decay and disintegration that they displayed, the princes themselves were nullities, and the able men who rose to power under them thought more of obtaining office and securing themselves these than of any service they could render to the State. Zulfikár Khan, the great commander already noticed, was put to death in a palace revolution, but a new military chief began to rise into power. This was Chin Kilich Khan, son of Alamgír's Turkoman Chancellor Firoz Jang, and famous for his opposition to the native Muslim party and for being founder of the dynasty which, under the title of Nizám, still bears rule in the Deccan. Another outbreak of the Sikhs took place in 1716, which was suppressed with a severity proportioned to the difficulty that attended the effort. Next year a Marathá chief, named Khande Rao, attacked the Imperial territories in the south, and obtained from the Viceroy a right to levy revenue from the unhappy landholders. The result, as a great native historian says, "was hard upon the people Night and day," he adds, "were devoted to the lusts of this vile world." "Muslims and Hindus," according to another Muhammadan writer, "united in prayers for the downfall of the Government." In 1719 all the western regions of the Empire were under Hindu rules with the exception of Málwá, of which province

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OF THE
MUGHAL
EMPIRE
Jahandar
Shah
&
Farukh-
Siyyar.

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OF THE
MUGHAL
EMPIRE

*Condition of
the people*

Chin Kílich was Governor The Ját country—now State of Bhartpur—was ruled by the chief of the tribe, Chúrámán, the Maráthás were independent from Kolhápúr to Bombay, where the English had a growing settlement The people were everywhere helpless, and could enjoy no welfare but at the good pleasure of the individual chief, or political adventurer, who might chance to be in power On one occasion the Prime Minister caused a complete devastation of the Jaipur country for an imaginary offence of the Rájá, in spite of a complete submission the crops were destroyed, and the younger Hindus of both sexes were led away in slavery, while the older people were left to die of hunger

Muham-
mad Sháh,
179

*His reign
more success-
ful*

At last, after many painful scenes of revolt and murder, a prince was found, a grandson of the Emperor Bahádur, who had more strength of mind and body than the puppets who had recently passed away like phantoms from the dark and troubled scene Prince Raushan Akhtar—so he was named—became Emperor under the title of Muhammad Sháh at the end of 1719, and is called by Muslim writers, “the seal of the House of Timúr” He was the last of his line that ever sate upon the famous peacock-throne of Sháh Jahán, and it is recorded of him, by an able Muslim historian who wrote but a few years after his demise, that “during his reign the subjects enjoyed much tranquility, the Government being still respected, the honour of the State maintained, and the majesty of the throne preserved”

An important qualification of this praise must be admitted in the fact that it was in this reign that took place the last of those terrible northern incursions with which Hindustan had been from time to time afflicted from the time of Mahmud of Ghazni. In 1738 Nadir Sháh invaded the Panjáb at the head of a great army of Iranis and Kizilbash, the defence of the Empire was paralysed by feuds and rivalries, the Persians committed frightful excesses in Delhi, and returned to their own country, like their precursors but laden with a still larger booty. The jewels of the Crown and throne, the wealth of lords and bankers, the plate of temples and the hoardings of the peasants, all was swept away.

Muhammad Sháh died a curious death. In the beginning of 1748 Ahmad Khán, an Afghán who had succeeded Nádir in the southern part of his dominions, made a raid on the Panjáb and threatened Delhi. But the Hindustáni forces were better led and their counsels less divided than had been the case ten years before. "Írán and Turán" were for once united, Kamr-ud-dín, the Túrkoman general, seconded in his efforts by the Nawáb Safdar Jang, the Sháh minister, successfully opposed the Afgháns. But the valiant Turkomán was killed by a round shot, and, when the news reached Delhi, the Emperor fell from the judgment seat where he was transacting business and never spoke again.

On the 10th November of the same year, he was followed to another world by Chin Kísch who had

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OF THE
MUGHAL
EMPIRE

Nadir
Shah's In-
cursion,
1738

*Death of
Muhammad
Shah, 1748*

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THE FALL
OF THE
MUGHAL
EMPIRE.

*Anarchy of
Hindustan*

Panipat 1761

become independent, though not by disloyalty, as Nizám of the Deccan. It was somewhat equivocally recorded of him by the historian quoted above—the Nawáb Ghulám Hosain, who was not of his party—that “avarice and ambition were his besetting sins, but, if we can get over these, we shall find him to have been a combination of excellent qualities”

The Empire was now hurrying fast down a steep decline. Anarchy and moral dissolution seized on high and low. A grandson of the old Nizám, who had become Prime Minister at Delhi, murdered the Emperor Alamgír II in 1759, the heir-apparent was a wanderer in Bengal, Maráthas appeared to be about to acquire supreme rule in Hindustán. This, however, was prevented by another Afghan incursion which the chiefs of the Maráthas vainly opposed. Routed, with frightful carnage, on the famous fields of Pánipat in January, 1761, they were driven back to their own country and the anarchy of Hindustán became more complete than ever. The Empire was held (under Afghán patronage) by a commission administered by the son of the new Emperor, who continued to absent himself from Delhi, and by a Rohillá Soldier of fortune named Najíb Khán, who had assisted the Afgháns at the battle of Pánipat. The province of Oudh had become independent in the hands of the Nawáb Shujá-ud-daulá, son of Safdar Jang. In Bengal a new power was rising which was to take the place, in times to come of the fallen Empire.

CHAPTER VI

EARLY EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA

Section. 1 —The Portuguese, French, and English settlers.

In the same year in which Columbus set sail from Spain for the west to look for India and find America, Vasco de Gama, from Portugal, sailing in the opposite direction, got round the Cape of Good Hope and made his way to the Malabar coast. In 1498 he visited Calicut, an open roadstead 566 miles south of Bombay, where there was a strong town and a district under a petty Rájá known as the *Zamorin*. So populous and powerful was the place that it twice repulsed the Portuguese, who lost their commander there in 1509, and whose great leader, Albuquerque, was himself expelled, in the following year, after a trifling and momentary success. For many years, however, this neighbourhood afforded the Portuguese a foothold, by aid of which they maintained a monopoly of Indian spices and piecegoods and ruined the overland trade of the Venetians. They founded two great trading stations where they made settlements and fortified cities, one was Goa, about 150 miles north of Calicut—which they still retain—the other Hughli, opposite Calcutta, of which they were dispossessed by Sháh Jahán in 1631. A.D. About the end of the sixteenth

Vasco de
Gama

Reaches
Calicut,
1498

Albuquerque,
1510

Goa,
Hughli.

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THE
PORTUGUESE,
FRENCH AND
ENGLISH
SETTLERS
*Expelled by
the Mughal
from Hughli
in 1631*

*The Dutch
followed*

English
East India
Company,
1600

1623.

century the Dutch seamen began to find their way round the Cape, and in 1603 they laid siege to Goa, and seriously crippled the Portuguese trade in India. In 1631 Hughli was taken by the Mughal armies, most of the garrison perished in the defence and the survivors were taken to Agra, where many of them became slaves the priests were put in prison, and Manrique saw three of them there ten years later. A Christian cemetery near Agra, called *Padre-Santo*, contains graves of that period. The Portuguese in Bengal never surmounted that ruinous event, though some refugees established a piratical resort at Chittagong, in the Bay, where they preyed on native commerce and even obtained influence in the Burmese province of Arakan. The Portuguese still hold over 1,000 square miles of Indian territory but their power and commerce are alike extinct. The Dutch took their place for a short time, but although they obtained valuable possessions in the Islands of the South, some of which they still hold, they have now no establishments on the continent of Asia.

The downfall of Portuguese influence in India was however not the work of the Dutch but of a new power which was ultimately to surpass all other European nations in the contest for Indian commerce and political power. The English formed an East India Company on the last day of the sixteenth century, which made many purely commercial voyages and endeavoured to compete with the Dutch on the equator. Driven out of those parts in 1623 they began to concentrate

their attention to the mainland of India. Their first factory was at Surat, whence they sent agents to Ajmere and Agra. In 1615, and again five years later, their ships had already inflicted severe defeats on those of the Portuguese, and indeed from the effects of these reverses Portuguese influence in India never recovered. In 1622 the British took the Portuguese factory on the Persian Gulf, and obtained recognition from the Sháh's Government. In 1625 they established factories on the east coast of India, and in 1639 founded Fort St George or Madras, on land acquired from a local chief descended from the once powerful Princes of Vijayanagar. A factory was established in Bengal, 1640. A little later, in 1645-6 the English obtained favourable consideration from the Mughals through the skill and patriotism of one of their surgeons. In 1661 Bombay was ceded to England as part of the dowry of the Portuguese princess, Catherine, espoused to King Charles II, in 1684 the factory was transferred thither from Surat and about five years later the site of what is now Calcutta was acquired from Alamgir's government, and Fort William was founded. The East India Company had by this time begun to nourish ambitious projects; and to seek an increase of territory and revenue. But all was soon exposed to the serious competition of a new European rival.

The French, in the last century, were more disposed to seek colonial expansion than they have subsequently been till quite lately. In 1644 their great Minister

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THE
PORTUGUESE,
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ENGLISH
SETTLERS
*Surat factory
established
about 1623.*

*Fort St
George 1639.*

*Factory in
Bengal, 1640.*

*Bombay ceded
to England
1661*

SEC I

THE
PORTUGUESE,
FRENCH, AND
ENGLISH
SETTLERS
Bernier's
Visit,
1674

Pondicherry,
1654

Dupleix

Colbert, founded a Company to trade to the east, and the traveller Bernier, from whose accounts of Hindustán extracts have been given elsewhere, went to India in 1654 as his agent and correspondent. For many years the French merchants were content with a small share of Indian commerce, trading also with Cayenne, Madagascar, and other places where they had settlement, but in 1719 the four existing French Companies were amalgamated in imitation of what had been lately done in London. Pondicherry had been founded by a French adventurer named Martin, 1674, and in thirty two years had become a fortified town with 40,000 inhabitants. In 1740 the Governor General Dumas, resisted successfully a threatened attack of Maráthas, on which occasion he raised the first "sepoys," or native troops equipped and disciplined in the European manner. Lying south of Madras and to windward of it during the South-West Monsoon, Pondicherry became a place of great trade and importance, supported by the naval stations of Bourbon and Mauritius and, in 1744, these settlements—under Dupleix and La Bourdonnais—threatened the British Company with a rivalry that was not only competitive, but absolutely hostile. The mother nations were at war in Europe and America, Dupleix was ambitious, even beyond his ability which was considerable. He conceived the idea of founding an European Indian Empire, and had he kept on good terms with La Bourdonnais and had he received adequate support from the frivolous government of Louis XV,

he might have realised his dream and prevented the success of the British

At the age of eighteen this remarkable man—who was born in 1697—went to sea on board an East Indiaman, but shortly afterwards obtained employment under the newly-formed Company, becoming a member of the Council at Pondicherry, where he learned official routine while amassing wealth by his private commercial operations. Ten years later he was sent to the Company's Bengal factory, at Chandranagar, as Superintendent, and, being industrious and skilful, he was sent back to Pondicherry in 1741 as Governor-General of all the Indian possessions of France. He immediately embarked on an extensive scheme of diplomatic action in which the defects of his character found dangerous scope, while his administrative qualities were also displayed. He paid attention to military reform, disciplining the native infantry after the European fashion, introduced by Dumas, and he made extensive improvements in the fortifications of Pondicherry. But he indulged in vain ostentation, and when La Bourdonnais, as naval chief, attempted to act on his own judgment, Duplex showed an arrogant temper and a lack of self-control which soon compromised their relations and their success. In 1746 Madras was taken by the French fleet, but when the Admiral had agreed to hold the town and territory to ransom, Duplex, as Civil Governor, refused, and ultimately obtained the Admiral's recall. The Nawáb of the Karnátik, a feudatory of Haidarábád

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THE
PORTUGUESE,
FRENCH AND
ENGLISH
SETTLERS

*Governor
General of
French posses-
sions,
1741*

*French take
Madras,
1764*

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THE
PORTUGUESE,
FRENCH, AND
ENGLISH
SETTLERS

*Restored,
1748*

*Intrigues at
Arcot and
Haidarâbâd*

where the dynasty of the Nizâm had by this time become independent, attempted to wrest Madras from the French, but Duplex strengthened the garrison, and the Nawâb's army was driven off with great loss. An attack on the English at Negapatam failed, but Pondicherry was defended with skill and valour against the British fleet under Admiral Boscawen, though the sea-attack was seconded by Major Stringer Lawrence at the head of a compact land-force. This was in 1748, and before the end of that year the news of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle restored Madras to the British. But the ambition of the French Governor was by no means appeased. Though for the present restrained from open hostilities against the British, he spread his intrigues far and wide, and very nearly succeeded in making the States that were growing out of the decayed roots of the Empire subordinate, in the south at least, to the supremacy of France. Disputed successions at Arcot—the seat of the Karnatik Government—and at Haidarâbâd—the centre of the Nizam's dominions—gave him his opening; he placed nominees of his own in both, and posed as arbiter and overlord of southern India. The British were driven into the opposite side for they would not see French influence entirely supreme, they therefore took part with the rival candidates. In the subordinate post at Arcot they succeeded in fixing their man, as Nawab of the Karnatik; but the French for some time maintained their own Nizâm at Haidarâbâd, when Duplex was ably represented by the Marquis

de Bussy. On the southern Coromandel Coast the influence of the English was, on the whole, the strongest, but to the north the French obtained possession of Ganjám and the sea-port of the Nizám's dominions—Masulipatam at the mouth of the great river Krishna. Desultory fighting went on for some years, but was suspended for a time by orders from Europe which resulted in the ineffectual peace of Pondicherry, 1755. Meanwhile the hostility of La Bourdonnais had been secretly undermining Dupleix at home, and he was superseded in 1754, and sent to France where he died some years later, a ruined man sacrificed to the profligate and ungrateful government which he had served too well.

In 1760 Colonel Eyre Coote—the first commandant of the 84th regiment—gained a great victory over the French General Count Lally at Wandiwash, it is curious to note that these officers were both Irishmen who had entered the two different services. The victor proceeded to besiege Pondicherry which capitulated in January, 1761, though restored by the peace of Paris, 1763. But the result of the war virtually broke the power of the French in India, though they persisted in the struggle till 1782, and continued long afterwards to be a serious obstacle to British commerce in eastern seas, by the help of the islands, which were not taken till 1810. The present possessions of the French in India—including the old settlements of Pondicherry and Chandranagar—are 178 square miles with a decreasing population. The island of Bourbon

SFC.

THE
PORTUGUESE,
FRENCH, AND
ENGLISH
SETTLERS.

*The peace of
Pondicherry,*
1755.

*Recall of
Dupleix,*
1754.

*Battle of
Wandiwash,*
1760.

*Pondicherry
captured by
Coote,*
1761.

Restored, 1763.

*Decay of
French influ-
ence*

SEC I

THE
PORTUGUESE,
FRENCH, AND
ENGLISH
SETTLERS*Growth of
Calcutta*

also belongs to France, but the Mauritius is still a British possession

When Duplex began his brilliant but ultimately defeated enterprise, British competition must have seemed one of the smallest difficulties opposing the French in India. In 1717 the British had, it is true, obtained fresh favour and recognition from the Mughal Emperor, and had again owed it to the skill and patriotism of a medical officer. But by this time the Imperial orders had become of little effect at distant places, and the local Government long continued to ill-treat the foreign traders and to limit their powers and privileges, guaranteed though they had been by the Sovereign. In 1742 the mercantile community of Calcutta was allowed to fortify the town against apprehended raids of the Maráthas, and for fourteen years the factory continued to grow and to prosper. The settlers were the agents of a trading association—"the United Company of Merchants," as it was called—whose business consisted in sending out bullion, and other metals, with hardware and woollen goods, receiving in return through the agency of these servants a number of eastern products, among which may be particularised silks, muslins, drugs, spices and tea. In these commercial pursuits Calcutta was still absorbed when it was over-taken by a calamity which proved the birth-throe of a mighty fortune.

In the anarchy that immediately followed the death of the Emperor Muhammad Sháh, a Turkoman soldier of fortune, styling himself Alí Vardi Khán, slew the

last Imperial Governor of the Eastern Subahs and established a quasi-independent principality in Bengal, of which the capital was Murshidabad. He died in 1756, and his grandson, Siráj-ud-daulá, by whom he was succeeded, attacked and obtained possession of Calcutta before the end of the same year.

The Presidency of Fort St. George at Madras when the news of this catastrophe arrived was just then enjoying a temporary respite from hostility by virtue of the peace of Pondicherry, and possessed the additional advantage of a brilliant military genius in Colonel Robert Clive and a squadron of the Royal Navy under Admiral Watson. Collecting all possible forces these officers at once set sail for the scene of the disaster where they arrived in the beginning of 1757. Calcutta was at once re-occupied, Chandranagar, the French settlement, was bombarded and forced to surrender, and on 23rd June, 1757, the vast array of Siráj-ud-daulá was attacked and overthrown at Plassey by a force of 3,200 men, of whom only about 1,000 were white men. The young Nawáb fled from the field, but was taken and killed by one of his own officers, named Mir Jafar, who was made Nawáb in his place. Clive thus showed how attentively he had observed the operations of Duplex, which he first copied in disciplining native infantry, and then in ruling through native chiefs. He pursued his imitation so far as to obtain from the decadent Court at Delhi a patent empowering his new Nawáb to act as a Viceroy of the Empire (12th August, 1765).

SEC. I

THE
PORTUGUESE,
FRENCH, AND
ENGLISH
SETTLERS
Siraj-ud-
daula
takes Calcutta
1750

Relief of
Clive and
Watson
1757

Battle of
Plassey,
1757

SEC. I.	<p>It was a new political situation that was thus created. But that situation was, for the present, imperfectly established, and still more imperfectly perceived. In order to complete our view of it we must recur briefly to earlier events and give a short summary of the troubles which had been affecting the heart of the Empire. When Delhi was last under our notice, we found the new Emperor, Sháh Alam, absent, and the dwindled territory under a regency. Soon after—in 1760—the Maráthas came up, under a young general named Sadáshiva Rao, Bhao, and the Afgháns led by Ahmad Sháh Abdáli took the field against them. Having taken Delhi the Bháo advanced into the Panjáb, leaving the Afgháns at Anupshahr, with the Jumna between them. An Afghán garrison at Kunjpura was attacked and cut to pieces by the Maráthas, but, as soon as the rains began to subside, the Abdáli broke up his camp at Anupshahr, and forded the Jumna at Bhágpat. The Marathas turned to bay at Panipat—the scene of so many battles—and here the Abdáli, after blockading their camp for three months, overthrew them with frightful slaughter on the 13th January, 1761. In this action he was aided by Najib Khan, one of the co-regents of the Empire and by Shujá-ud-daulá, the titular Vazir and the ruler of Oudh, for “the parties of Irán and Turán” had been fused by fear of the Hindus, though the Nawáb of Oudh had been seriously tempted to take part with them. The country being thus cleared, the refugee Emperor proposed to return to his capital, and Clive wrote to</p>
THE PORTUGUESE, FRENCH AND ENGLISH SAFILLERS	
<i>Condition of the Mughal Empire</i>	
<i>The Mará thas and the Afgháns.</i>	
<i>Battle of Panipat, 1761</i>	

Mr Pitt, the British Prime Minister in London, urging upon him that the British Government should take up the Mughal cause Clive thought that the King of England might come forward as Viceroy of the Empire in the Eastern Subahs, a patent for which could be obtained on guaranteeing the tribute. This was to be fixed at one-fifth of the estimated revenue, a sum which Clive considered legally due though of late it had been "very ill-paid owing to distractions in the heart of the Mughal Empire which have prevented the Court from attending to their concerns in these distant provinces." Nothing came of this scheme, but it is an evidence of the then existing state of affairs and contains a certain presage of the future.

Much had yet to be done and suffered, the suffering mostly by the Emperor and the doing by his would-be champions. Driven to take refuge with the Viceroy of Oudh, Shujá-ud-daulá, the wandering Prince was in camp when the Viceroy was defeated by Major Munro at the decisive battle of Buxár, on the 23rd October, 1764. He had taken no part in the action and came over next day to the victors. Negotiations ensued, of which the final result was a treaty by which the British bound themselves to pay tribute to the Emperor—as Clive had formerly proposed—on account of the revenues of the Eastern Subahs which they were to administer. This was called "the Diwání," while the "Nizámat," or police-administration, was to continue in the hands of the chief they had set up in the room of Mir Jafar, and to whom was given the title of

SRI I

THE
PORTUGUESE,
FRENCH AND
ENGLISH
SETTLERS

*Battle of
Buxar
1764*

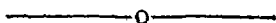
*Diwan of
Eastern
Subahs
over to the
English.*

SEC II

THE FIRST
BRITISH
STRUGGLE
WITH THE
MARATHAS
AND MAISUR

Nawáb Nízim Such was the dual system of Clive, which soon broke down, as did a similar arrangement attempted in the Panjáb three quarters of a century later

It is now time to turn our attention to the other parts of India and bring the account of those regions to the date immediately preceding the period when it became evident that the British Government must assume the paramount power if the country was to be saved from further anarchy and enabled to progress on the road towards peace and union



Section 2 —The first British struggle with the Marathas and Maisur

At the time when the Company obtained the Diwání of the Eastern Subahs its power was far from being established in the other parts of the peninsula

The
English
position in
India about
1764

The Panjáb, at this period, was become virtually independent the Sikhs were, generally, masters there, being divided into a number of republics under a loose federal bond for purposes of defence The Maráthas of Poona were supreme in the south, but a number of small chiefships existed there, besides the residue of Mughal power under the "Nízám of the Deccan" who ruled at Haidarábad Between the land of the Sikhs and that of the Maráthas lay the old possessions of the unconquered but unenterprising Rájputs, while more to the eastward lay a central zone of petty Hindu chieftainships, known as the lands of the Jats,

Bundelas, and others But the two British "Presidencies," on the west and east, were beginning to attract attention and to have a disturbing influence on the politics of almost all these powers

In Bengal, for example, Clive had laid the foundation of future supremacy by stipulating that the Nawáb of the Karnátik—who had become a British feudatory at Arcot—should be released from all dependence on the Nizám it had also been thought proper to obtain from the Emperor a patent vesting the "Northern Sircárs"—Ganjam and Gantúr—in the East India Company The Nizám, naturally alarmed and offended, demanded and obtained from the Madras Government a separate treaty acknowledging feudatory relations to him, the Nizám, and guaranteeing a yearly tribute (12th November, 1766) That feeble British Presidency was also constrained to promise the Haidarábad ruler substantial aid in the war he was proposed to wage against Haidar Ali

This famous soldier of fortune had risen in the service of Maisur, a Hindu State which had grown up out of the ruins of the kingdom of Bijáyanagar, destroyed—as we saw—in 1565 Originally a mere policeman, he had risen by his merits, until at last, when in middle life, he made himself Sultán of Maisur, 1763 Here he raised a disciplined army of 60,000 men, and in 1766 had to sustain a combined attack from the Maráthas and the Nizám, the latter having the aid of a British contingent under Col Smith But the Nizám soon turned the tables on the British

SEC II

THE FIRST
BRITISH
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WITH THE
MARATHAS
AND MAISUR

Haidar Ali
Sultán of
Maur,
1763

SEC. II

THE 1751
BRITISH
STRUGGLE
WITH THE
MARÁTHAS
AND MAISUR

by effecting a sudden alliance with his principal enemy, Ha'idar. Their combined hosts fell upon the small British force, but, in spite of the enormous preponderance of strength—10 to 1—the treacherous allies were thoroughly defeated by Smith, with the loss of sixty-four guns. Upon this, and the arrival on his shores of an auxiliary column from Bengal, the Nizám made a second turn and dissolved his alliance with the Sultán of Maisur as suddenly and as traitorously as he had formed it. Notwithstanding these triumphs of their army the civilians of Madras failed to find courage. They hastily concluded with the Nizám a new and a still more humiliating treaty. All the old concessions were confirmed, even the possession of Gantúr was waived for the present, fresh and more distinct promises were given of British aid against Ha'idar. The time was evidently approaching when some stronger, and less dishonest, hand should take the control of Madras politics.

Ha'idar at once accepted the challenge. By skilful manœuvring he drew to a distance Col. Smith, the only Madras officer of whom he was afraid, and then swooping upon the Presidency extorted from the Governor, Du Pre, a restitution of conquests, a promise of alliance, and a virtual betrayal of the Nizám. Ha'idar, with these prospects, had no hesitation in turning upon the Maráthas at Milgauta, 1770.

But the Maráthas were too strong for him, and when they had driven him to retreat and invested him in his capital of Seringapatam, the Madras authorities

basely withheld the aid that, in their hour of distress, they had so readily promised. Haider paid the ransom demanded by his enemies, and treasured, for future repayment, the desertion of his friends.

Flushed with this success, the Maráthas now ventured on returning to Hindustán whence they had been scourged in 1761. Meeting with no opposition they advanced to Delhi, and sent for the Emperor who had been living for the past five years under British protection at Allahibád. The Emperor thus restored (December 1771) became little more than a tool in their hands, and the time seemed approaching when this somewhat vulgar power would become paramount in the peninsula. The Presidency of Madras had become subservient by the pusillanimity of its administrators. The Presidency of Bombay was overawed by deficient force and by the neighbourhood of the Marátha capital, Poona. Bengal was the farthest from Marátha influence, and its officials were abler and bolder than their countrymen in other parts of India. But the fields were wasted by war and famine, the people were oppressed, the British officers corrupted and enriched, the shareholders of the Company defrauded and without dividends. It seemed only a question of time when the rotten political fabric would crumble and disappear. It was at this critical moment that a man got possession of the British affairs in India under whom prosperity was to return in tenfold fullness, and the foundation to be laid of a vast and wonderful power.

SEC II

THE FIRST
BRITISH
STRUGGLE
WITH THE
MARATHAS
AND MAHAR.

*The Mará-
thas restore
the Emperor,
1771*

SEC. II

THE FIRST
BRITISH
STRUGGLE
WITH THE
MARATHAS
AND MYSUR
Warren
Hastings

*Arrives in
Calcutta,
1772*

*Made Governor
General
of India*

Warren Hastings had been one of the civil officers who served under Clive's first administration in 1760. After some years of service up the country he returned to Europe and endeavoured to obtain employment at Oxford as a teacher of Persian. In 1769 he was permitted to re-enter the service and proceeded to Madras as second member of Council. He arrived too late to oppose the early part of the disgraceful proceedings just mentioned, but he supported the President in a loyal attempt to support Haider according to the terms of the treaty in which they were unhappily overruled by Sir John Lindsay, a representative of the British ministry at home. Promoted to the head of the Bengal government Hastings arrived in Calcutta at the end of 1772 to find that Clive's dual system had broken down beyond hope of recovery. The managers of the revenue, though theoretically controlled by the British authorities, did what they liked with the sinister audacity of experts, and the returns exhibited a yearly deficit. In six months the firm and experienced Hastings had placed all in a way of reform and ere long he was promoted by the express provisions of an Act of Parliament. Madras was for the future reduced to a subordinate position and the Governor of Bengal was to be Governor-General of India. In the meantime, however, Mr Hastings had begun that course of hostilities which were ultimately to cripple the Maráthas more completely than their temporary reverse of 1761. In the country between Delhi and the Kumáun hills was the province

variously known under the Empire as Sambhal and Katahra here a Rohilla Pathán had lately established a quasi-independent authority, and the country had acquired the name of Rohilkhand or "Rohilkund" as it appears in English writings. In 1772 one of the first acts of the restored Emperor had been to authorise and assist the usurpation of Rohilkhand by the Maráthas but the Rohillas called in the aid of the Nawáb of Oudh the Marátha influence had declined at Court it was agreed between the Emperor and the Nawáb that they should be expelled from those quarters, and for this service the Rohillas agreed to pay the Nawáb a certain sum of money. The service being performed the Rohillas refused to make the stipulated payment upon which the Nawáb threatened hostilities as a foreclosing mortgagee, and called on the Bengal Government, in virtue of a previous treaty, to contribute a contingent to his aid. We have seen that such agreements and such contributions of aid had not been unusual in the Madras Presidency though not very creditably carried out but the Bengal authorities, in the present case, violated no obligation—implied or expressed—towards any other power, and in aiding the Nawáb they were not only fulfilling a positive engagement but acting for the defence of British interests. The Maráthas were their imminent danger, and, so long as Rohilkhand was in hands too weak or too untrustworthy to keep out the Maráthas, that nation of plunderers had a footing and a thoughtare to the heart of the Empire on the borders of the

SEC II

THE FIRST
BRITISH
STRUCTURE
WITH THE
MARATHAS
AND MAISUR.

*Affairs in
Rohilkhand*

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THE FIRST
BRITISH
STRUGGLE
WITH THE
MARATHAS
AND MAISUR

The
Marathas

Raghuba,
1773

*Bombay
Government
support
Raghuba*

British and on those of the ally of the British. Accordingly, in 1774, the Rohillas were expelled from the country with the aid of a British brigade.

In the following year Hastings began the contest with the Maráthas amid his terrible struggle with his own Council, that struggle which was to hamper the rest of his public career and embitter the remaining years of his existence. About the beginning of 1773 the Peshwá—as the head of the Marátha confederacy was called—died, assassinated (as was supposed) by his uncle Raghuba who took possession of the office thus vacated. After a brave and able demonstration in the countries of the Nizám and Haidar, Raghuba went into Central India, and was joined there by Sindhia and Holkar, two of the most powerful chiefs of the confederacy. But in the meantime his nephew's widow had borne her husband a posthumous son who was recognised by the other Marátha chiefs and officials. Raghuba on this invoked the aid of the British Government at Bombay as was then the custom. The Bombay Government agreed to supply a body of 3,000 men on terms which included the islands of Salsette and Bassein, and concluded the treaty without the knowledge of the Bengal Government to which they were by law subordinate. In pursuance of this engagement the Bombay Government sent Colonel Keatinge to attack the army of the regents, on which he inflicted a signal defeat on the field of Arras near Surat, and a large accession of territory followed. This took place in 1775 while Hastings was in the very crisis of

his strife with the majority of the Calcutta Council, and the latter at once negatived all that had been done; annulling the treaty and ordering Keatinge to march his troops back to cantonments. Next year, however, and before much mischief had ensued, the arrogance of the Marátha regency compelled the British Council to alter their views and espouse the cause of Raghoba. But it was done, after all, in a half-hearted way, the treaty of Purandhar concluded under instructions from the Supreme Council conceded more than half the subjects of dispute, left Raghoba in the lurch, and raised the arrogance of the Marátha Durbar to a point which ensured future civil

While these troubles were being caused by imbecility at Bombay, Madras was equally disturbed, and reaped the fruits of official insubordination. One of the constant aspirations of the civil officers of the British Company at Fort St. George seemed to be to defy the 'Regulating Act' of 1773, and to assume independent political power in southern India. There was also a great and keen desire to imitate the Bengal civilians of a former decade in making the exercise of political authority conducive to the pecuniary advantage of themselves. The Bengal men had—as we have seen—effaced the native administrator of the Eastern Subahs, they had extorted territory and cash from the ruler of Oudh, the hereditary Vazir of the Empire. The Madras men did not see why they should not do the like with their local Nawáb and his superior the Nizám of the Deccan. But they were too

SEC. II

THE FIRST
BRITISH
STRUGGLE
WITH THE
MARATHAS
AND MAISUR.

*Treaty of
Purandhar,
1770*

*Affairs in
Madras*

SEC II

THE FIRST
BRITISH
STRUGGLE
WITH THE
MARATHAS
AND MAISUR*Corruption of
the Madras
officials*

late Bengal had shown her wild oats and the Governor-General did not intend to have those youthful sins revived for the benefit of a minor presidency. To this must be added the further difficulty that for many years after Clive's departure the British affairs on the coast were in the hands of men for the most part devoid of every practical or efficient quality. Even officers of repute from other quarters coming to Madras seemed to undergo a blighting influence. That blight was due to a life of luxury and a lust of gain.

Muhammad Alí, the Nawáb, was being devoured by his European creditors. Mr Benfield, a Madras civilian, preferred enormous claims upon the Rájádom of Tanjore, a small Hindu principality south of Madras. The Nawáb attempted to seize Tanjore for the benefit of his creditors, these at first sought to oust the claims of Benfield, but ultimately resolved to admit him to a share. The Governor—Lord Pigot—refused to take part, and disallowed the transaction, whereupon the Council, aided and abetted by General Stuart, seized Pigot as he was taking his evening drive and threw him into prison, where he died. The next proceeding of these men was to hand over to their debtor, the Nawáb, the Sircár of Gantúr which had been assigned to a brother of the Nizám.

*Capitulation of
Wargaum
1779*

On the other side of India the same kind of folly and misconduct marked the proceedings of the British officials. On the 12th January, 1779, a force of 4,000 men whom they had sent to sustain the hopeless cause of Raghoba, was forced to capitulate at Wargaum.

The Court of Directors was equal to the occasion. Seven leading civilians of Madras had already been recalled. Three commanders of the Bombay army were now dismissed the service.

In the midst of these dangers and difficulties arrived news of the outbreak of war with France and Spain. But Mr Hastings was now getting a free hand with his Council, and it was in the combination of every sort of difficulty that the calm spirit and unfailing sense of duty of that great man came out to rule the storm and compose the jarring elements. On the 30th July, Haidar burst into the Karnátik at the head of a powerful host, with French officers and French gunners, to give it tenacity. The Madras authorities were paralysed by a shock which they should have expected, as it was of their own preparing. But in the Supreme Government of India other counsels and other men prevailed. General Goddard retrieved Raghoba's cause at Surat, took by storm the capital of Gujarat and dispersed an army of 20,000 men which Sindhia and Holkar had collected to attack him. In the north Major Popham captured the fortress of Gwalior, till then deemed impregnable, and one of his officers, Captain Bruce, marching on to the support of Major Camac, surprised the camp of Sindhia.

A different fortune awaited the efforts of Madras. Colonel Baillie's column being entirely destroyed by Haidar's son Tipú Sahib, while Hector Munro, once the resolute queller of mutiny and victor in the desperate battle of Buxár, lay idle with his army in

SEC II

THE FIRST
BRITISH
STRUGGLE
WITH THE
MARATHAS
AND MAISUR

*Successes of
the English in
Gujarat and
Gwalior*

SEC II

THE FIRST
BRITISH
STRUGGLE
WITH THE
MARATHAS
AND MAISUR.
Hastings' measures in Madras

earshot of the fatal cannonades. Then Hastings rose. Suspending Mr Whitehill, the Governor of Madras, he conciliated the Nizám by a promise to restore Gantúr to him, at the same time he kept the Maráthas from joining Haidar by sending Colonel Pearse with a force into Berár. Sir Eyre Coote, the hero of Wandiwash, was sent to the Karnátik at the head of almost all the Bengal troops. The Nawáb of Oudh and the Rájá of Benares were summoned to send up their contingents.

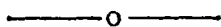
The Peace of Salbái

These measures sufficed. Coote defeated Haidar and joined hands with Pearse. Sindhia submitted, and prevailed on the rest of the Marátha chiefs to join in the famous Peace of Salbái. Ere long, however, the Bombay army was threatened with destruction by Haidar. In Madras—where the veteran Bussy had re-appeared—the incompetence of General Stuart had nearly provoked a fresh disaster at Cuddalore. Suddenly the good luck that waits upon the brave broke the last clouds. Haidar died on the 12th December, 1782, and the army with which he had been blockading the Bombay column melted away. In the end of June, 1783, news arrived of the conclusion of peace between France and England, and the aged French General departed to Pondicherry, where he presently died, without having struck the blow by which he had seemed about to annihilate the imbecile Stuart.

Death of Haidar, 1782

Some further trouble followed in the south. General Stuart was sent home under arrest, and no further

military disasters occurred. Indeed Col Fullarton was on the point of taking Seringapatam and anticipating any further mischief on the part of Tipú, now become Sultan of Mysur. But he was recalled by the civilians of Madras, still true to their traditions of incapacity, and a treaty was concluded with the Sultan, at Mangalore, in 1784. By this instrument—which was entered into and carried out with studied insolence on Tipú's part and with every mark of abjectness on the side of the British Commissioners—the flaw was introduced which weakened the rest of Mr Hastings' great policy, and left an opening for further anarchy and bloodshed in the south of India.



Section 3—The overthrow of Haidar's State and of the Maratha Empire

While these contentions had been distracting the southern parts of the peninsula the portion more properly known as Hindustán had been unusually peaceful. It has already been mentioned how the Viceroy of Oudh had become master of Rohilkhand, but with this exception he did not interfere, and for more than ten years Mírzá Najaf Khán, an able immigrant of Persian origin, gave to the restored Empire a sort of sunset splendour. He drove away Maratha encroachments, put down the turbulence of Sikhs to the north and Jats to the south-east, and when he died—26th April, 1782—Shah Alam was in the enjoyment

SEC III

THE OVERTHROW OF
HAIDAR'S
STATE AND
OF THE MARATHA EMPIRE

*Treaty of
Mangalore,
1784*

Hindustan

Mirza Najaf
Khan,
1782

SEB III

THE OVER
THROW OF
HAIDAR'S
STATE AND
OF THE MA
RAHA EM
PIRE

Mahadaji
Sindhia

of a repose of which we will hope that some portion extended to his subjects. At the time of his death the Mírzá held extensive fiefs under his own management, including the province—or Subah—of Agra, with a portion of the Ját territories and the Alwar districts. But the distribution of these estates, and of the personal property, was a matter of controversy, and, when to this was added the competition for his office, the dissensions became very violent. For the Mírzá had died childless and his heritage was claimed by Afra-syab, his favourite, and by Mírzá Shafi, his nephew. While these men were fighting the interests of the Emperor and his subject were exposed to other encroachments. Mr Hastings sent up a mission from Calcutta, and Mahádaji Sindhia, set at leisure by the conclusion of the treaty of Salbai, began to approach the scene. He had recovered Gwalior and was threatening to take possession of Gohad—now Dholpur—awaiting on the bank of the Chambal an opportunity of stooping upon a greater booty.

The moment was not far off. Mírzá Shafi was shot by a treacherous companion in September, 1783. The British Envoys at Dehli wrote to Calcutta urging instant interference. But Mr Hastings was winding up affairs previous to leaving India, and he hesitated to embark on a new and uncertain enterprise against the advice of his councillors whose caution was echoed in London. He therefore contented himself with proceeding to Lucknow, probably letting Sindhia perceive that he had no interference to fear from the British.

power About the beginning of October, 1784, Afrasyab was murdered by a brother of his deceased rival, who found refuge in Sindhia's camp As Afrasyab was strongly suspected of having instigated the murder of Shafi, the event looked like a piece of natural retaliation but certainly the benefit accrued to Sindhia Marching to Delhi he at once obtained a patent appointing the Peshwá Vicegerent of the Empire, and assumed for himself the command of the army and the administration of the revenues of the districts of Agra and Delhi, out of which he engaged to pay the Emperor a monthly allowance for his civil list

Gohad fell on the 24th November, and the event was followed by the engagement of M de Boigne, a Savoyard adventurer who had been attempting to enter the Gohad service The years 1783-4 were noted for a terrible famine, known to popular memory still In the suspension of authority that had followed on the death of Najaf Khan there was no one to help the suffering people or organise measures of relief, and the result was unspeakable and universal misery.

Mr Hastings left India in the end of 1784, and his successor Mr Macpherson sent a British brigade to the frontier stations of Anúpshahr and Cawnpur An entry in the *Calcutta Gazette* for 8th March, 1787, shows that the Bengal authorities were beginning to feel themselves attracted towards the politics of Hindustan, where they regarded the Mughals as members of "a declining State who are at the same time our secret enemies and rivals."

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*Sindhia goes
to Delhi
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*Departure of
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Nevertheless, the country was left for the present in the hands of Sindhia, who—while professing to act as representative of the Peshwá—carefully and vigilantly excluded all the other members of the Marátha confederacy

The Mughals and Patháns made one effort to oust the Hindu influence and recover the nucleus of the Empire for Islám Ghulám Kádír Khán, grandson of Najib the Rohilla, whom we saw co-Regent in 1761, struck his felon-blow, robbed and blinded the Emperor, and paid the penalty of failure if not of crime. Then, with a clear stage and the sword of M de Boigne to aid him, Sindhia stood forth. The Empire, though quite extinct as real power, was still a mighty shade, if no more. Writing in 1790, General de Boigne—able as a soldier, administrator, and statesman—recorded that, even then, Sindhia shared the universal respect for the House of Timúr, which was still the only power entitled to be sovereign in India and whatever Sindhia did was done in the name of the blind old Emperor, Sháh Alam, who could hardly command a meal in his own palace.

*Sindhia rules
in the name of
Shah Alam*

Lord
Cornwallis,
1786

The appointment of Lord Cornwallis to be Governor-General (Macpherson had been only acting for a moment) took place in 1786, and marked a new departure in the relations of India to England. These had hitherto been, or professed to be, purely commercial but it was now beginning to be realised—and even admitted—that a great political question was growing out of the position and operations of the Company.

Without some amount of peace and order commerce could not prosper, and there must either be some established power from whom redress and protection could be claimed or the traders must be able to protect themselves. Both plans were in fact combined, almost from the first. Even in the reign of Alamgir, when the Mughal Empire was still strong and formidable, the factories had used some degree of fortification, and had raised some kind of force as a guard. It was the French at Pondicherry who first used these measures on anything like a large scale, then the British imitated them and bettered the example. Still it continued to be the practice to appoint members of the Company's service to conduct their affairs, and to affect to look to the Mughal Empire and its pretended deputies as the responsible rulers of the land. The administration of Warren Hastings, however, gave the signal that this state of things was obsolete, and, in appointing a nobleman of Cornwallis' standing, the British Government showed that the new departure was at hand. The mercantile monopoly was developing, by virtue of necessity, into a political ascendancy of which the end might be more or less clearly perceived.

Cornwallis found Madras affairs in almost as bad a way as they had been any time these twenty years. Tipu was still inflated with his diplomatic victory at Mangalore, the Maráthas had not learned one-half of their lesson, a new French power was growing up in Hindustán, where General de Boigne and after him

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*Gen. and state
of affairs,
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General Perron, had attained great authority, civil and military, owing to the enforced absences of the Sindhia chiefs at Poona. Mahadájí had commended himself by soldierly geniality to the Peshwá—the head of the Marátha confederacy—who was too young to care for the sober and somewhat gloomy man-of-the-pen, Nána Farnavis, who was his actual Prime Minister. And so it came to pass that the “Foreign affairs” of the confederacy came rather to be transacted by Sindhia than by the Darbar of Poona. The result of these arrangements was, for some time, peaceful. On first acquiring power at Delhi Sindhia had caused a despatch to issue from the Imperial Chancery calling on the British Government to pay up the arrears of the subsidy guaranteed by the treaty of 1765, which had been discontinued when—contrary to the express desire of the Bengal Government—the Emperor had quitted British protection and returned to Delhi (1771). But the reply was a definite repudiation, and Sindhia had been plainly told that such demands were regarded as an insult for any repetition of which he would be held personally responsible. Sindhia's chief agent and adviser in Hindustán was General de Boigne, who continued in the service for the rest of his employer's life. And General de Boigne, who had once held a commission in the British army and who was not a Frenchman, preserved a respect for the British and constantly warned his master not to break with them. The Nawab of Oudh was also completely friendly, so that in Upper India, Lord Cornwallis had no cause for

anxiety and was even entitled to expect neutrality from the Darbar at Poona. With the Nizám, indeed, there was some trouble—at first—arising out of the old sore of Gantúr; but in 1788 Cornwallis put down open resistance by sending an armed force to demand the cession of the province, and the Nizám immediately complied. He solaced his injured feelings by opening a negotiation with Tipú, but it did not come to much practical result. Lord Cornwallis wrote to the Nizám assuring him that a British brigade was at his service, and the letter at least showed the Nizám that the British Government was aware of all that went on and prepared to act if necessary.

The need for action soon arose. Tipú attacked the Rájá of Travancore, a Hindu principality in the south-eastern extremity of the peninsula, and Cornwallis considering this war upon an ally of the Government equivalent to war upon his own power, took up the challenge, offered alliances to the Peshwá and the Nizám, and opened a campaign against the offending Sultán of Mysur in 1790. In truth it little mattered what was the ostensible cause of such a step, the existence of a State so restless and so inimical to the British cause was a perpetual peril to the peace and welfare of Southern India, and the first opportunity of putting an end to it was readily embraced.

The war went on without much result for about two years, during which Cornwallis, who took the command in person, seemed at one time likely to rare

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*Tipu sues for
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no better in India than he had done in America, where his surrender in 1781 had proved fatal to the British enterprise in that country. But the difficulties stimulated him to greater exertions. Finding at length that the assistance of the Nizám and the Peshwa proved worthless, in January, 1792, Cornwallis resolved to act alone. He once more took the field with an army of 22,000 men and 86 guns. Tipú was worsted, and Seringapatam was invested in the following month. A column of 6,000 men arrived from Bombay, and Tipú, despairing of success, concluded a treaty which made great inroads upon his power. Half his dominions and an indemnity of three *krors* of rupees were extorted from him, and faithfully divided between the British Government and its not very effectual allies. At that time more perhaps could hardly have been done: the reputation of the British was established as not only irresistible in war but honest observers of their plighted word.

*Cornwallis'
revenue sys-
tem*

In civil administration Cornwallis was not less upright and determined, and his Governorship is not less memorable for his reforms in this department than for his success in war. Most persons, indeed, now regard his revenue policy as mistaken. By the theory of Oriental finance, the agriculturists who actually possessed and cultivated the fields were subject to a payment to the State which might perhaps extend to the whole net produce—after all their expenses of tillage and subsistence had been paid. If, for purposes of collection, middle-men were employed who deducted

a percentage as recompense for their trouble, they were only officials, the term *Zamindar* implying no more ownership in the estate than does the more modern term *Tahsildar* imply ownership in the *Tahsil*, or land-office. But there was a school of officials at that time in Bengal to whom it seemed as though a way out of existing difficulties might be found by treating with these officials, or contractors, on the footing of absolute proprietorship. To Lord Cornwallis, himself a member of the territorial aristocracy of his own country, this view would naturally appear simple and proper, but by concluding a "permanent settlement" with the *Zamindars* he not only arrested the development of the land-revenue but sacrificed the interests of those actual holders of the land who were, more than any other, the true proprietors. The *Zamindars* made use of their new statutory title to raise the rents and create charges and sub-infeudations, the State got no share in the enhanced rents, and the cultivators were rackrented and reduced to hopeless squalor and misery.

But, if the revenue-policy of Cornwallis was thus open to question, his reform of the laws and the judicial and general administration was less doubtful. In 1793 he issued what may almost rank as a code of laws, both penal and in regard to procedure, and in separating the higher judicial functions from those which were purely executive he framed machinery which his successors have continued to use and to develop.

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Sir John
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*Death of
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1794*

Nana
Farnavis.

The political use which Cornwallis made of his success in Maisur was tentative, almost blind. He endeavoured, indeed, to prevail upon his allies the Nizám and the Peshwá, to enter into a tripartite treaty for the maintenance of peace in Southern India, but without success and he soon after left India, being succeeded by an able official, Sir John Shore, on the 28th October, 1793. To the new Governor it fell to take up the unravelled skein of Deccan politics. Sindhia had been instrumental in thwarting Cornwallis' policy, preventing the Poona Darbar from joining the proposed treaty because it did not include a guarantee of his position in Hindustán. But, on the 12th February, 1794, Sindhia died suddenly, and was succeeded by a nephew, barely fifteen years of age, who was presently ousted from the control of Deccan politics by his father's able opponent, Nána Farnavis. Under the inspiration of this Minister the Peshwá determined to strike a blow for mastery in the south of India, and early in 1795 he led the united forces of the Maráthas against the Mughal power of the Deccan, the last occasion on which the whole of their confederacy ever acted together under a common banner. On the 12th March, 1795, a general action was fought at Kurdla, in which the Nizám was outnumbered and defeated with great loss. But the Maráthas were debarred from following up their victory by the unexpected death of their young chief, who committed suicide in the midst of his triumph, on the 25th October, of the same year. The Nana upon this made peace with the Nizám, and

raised to the Peshwáship a son of the late Raghoba, named Bají Ráo, in whose name he hoped to govern. But the new Peshwá was at once imbecile and treacherous: the Nana was seized and thrown into prison, and an attempt was made upon the life of Daulat Rao Sirdhia which lost to the Poona Government the priceless resources of Hindustán. The only great act of Sir J. Shore by which his tenure of office was at all distinguished was his firm and salutary interference in the affair of the Oudh succession, in 1797, and the consequent conclusion of a new treaty with that power which continued virtually operative almost to the end of its existence.

Shore was succeeded, in 1798, by Lord Mornington, afterwards better known as the Marquess of Wellesley. He found India seething with elements of confusion. Tipu was preparing to revenge himself for his late losses and to recover his former power. The Nizám had raised a large army which was under an able Frenchman named Raymond. In Upper India General de Boigne had been succeeded by another French Officer named Perron. The influence thus created promised to be at least as dangerous as that of Duplex and Bussy half a century before. The France of 1798 was not the languid France of the later Bourbon monarchy, but a new nation full of the sap of new ideas, and inspired by a deadly hatred of British power. The first news that greeted the new Governor-General was that envoys from Tipu had been received in the Mauritius for the purpose of concluding an

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*War with
Mysur*

*Siege of
Seringapatam
1799*

alliance between the Sultán of Maisur and the Directors of the French Republic. Then 150 French officers and soldiers arrived at Seringapatam, and entered the Sultán's service. The Governor-General at once took up the gauntlet, an ultimatum was forwarded to Tipú, and on his neglecting it preparations were at once taken to reduce him to submission. The first step that appeared necessary was to destroy all possibility of sympathy or aid on the part of the Nizám and his French officers, and Raymond's force was accordingly disbanded, the officers being sent out of the country. Converging columns, from Madras and from Bombay then advanced upon Seringapatam, on the 6th April, 1799, the fortifications were invested, and on 4th May, the breach was stormed and the Sultán killed, fighting to the last. The Maisur territory was, for the time, divided, a part being made over to a tributary prince, of the old Hindu stock, while the residue was divided between the British and the Nizám. Báji Ráo got nothing, but for the time kept still.

In relating these high-handed doings we must not forget to mention that for six years the British nation had been engaged in a struggle with the whole power of France, now directed by the greatest soldier of modern times. Napoleon Bonaparte had become master of all the resources of that great country, and was known to be contemplating an attack on England in which he hoped to succeed by aid of an invasion of India aided by the forces of Russia and of Persia. Lord Wellesley was thus led to extend the field of European action as

it was being extended by the enemies of his country. It Tipú had seemed dangerous when planning an alliance with the Directory of 1798, still greater was the danger when Perron was meditating a co-operation with the First Consul, wielding all the power of the Maráthas and all the resources of Hindustán.

In 1800 General Perron overthrew the Anglo-Irish adventurer, George Thomas, who had offered himself as a pioneer of British power in Upper India, and in 1801 Perron was known to have sent an envoy to France. The peace of Amiens made a momentary interruption to Wellesley's anxieties, but he foresaw its precarious character and resolved to prepare for its rupture. When war with France was to be recommenced, war with Sindhia and Perron seemed a legitimate part of it. France might renew her attack by attempting to invade England and India, and then one of the defences of Dover must be at Delhi. So reasoned Wellesley, and the result justified his foresight.

In 1800 a force had been sent from India to aid in expelling the French from Egypt. In the same year the Nawáb of the Karnatik was deposed and the Nizam reduced to a feudatory position, as a punishment for treasonable correspondence found at Seringapatam. Malcolm was sent to Teheran to counteract French intrigues in Persia. In that year also the old minister, Nána Farnavis, died at Poona, and the direction of Marátha affairs became the subject of a competition between Sindhia and Holkar. The latter

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*Danger from
the French*

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*Treaty with
the Peshwa,
1802*

*The Mar-
has over
thrown
by Arthur
Wellesley
and*

Lake

defeated his rival and drove him and the Peshwá from Poona. The Peshwá took refuge with the British at Bassein, 6th Oct 1802 and Wellesley embraced the opportunity of making a treaty with the fugitive chief which virtually rendered the British paramount in Marátha affairs. The immediate effect of this instrument—signed on the last day of the year—was to alarm and irritate Sindhia and his ally, the Marátha Rájá of Nágpur, so that they set on foot a general combination of all the native powers of India for the destruction of the British.

Backed by organisation and statesmanship and served by his afterwards celebrated brother and by General Lake, Lord Wellesley frustrated the combination and defeated all opponents. In Hindustán Perron and many of the French officers threw themselves on British protection and their troops were defeated in detail by Lake in Upper India and by Arthur Wellesley in the Deccan. Delhi was captured and Dover was made safe. The Mughal Emperor became a British pensioner, and his Empire was taken over by the conqueror. A final victory at Laswári broke to pieces the remnant of the Franco-Marátha army and Holkar, coming late into the field, was unable to effect anything either for his nation or himself. The second defeat of Sindhia in the Deccan ended his share in the war, which was concluded by the treaty of Sarjú Anjangáon at the end of the year. The resistance of Holkar was prolonged, but proved rather troublesome than dangerous. In 1804 he was

driven from Delhi which he had endeavoured to besiege; and he suffered a total defeat under the walls of Dîg. In 1805 Lake chased him into the Panjab, when he submitted and was restored to power. Sindhia retired to Gwalior and Holkar to Indore.

Wellesley's Administration was not altogether viewed with satisfaction by his employers, who—while praising his success withheld approval from his policy. In May, 1805, he suddenly learned that his predecessor, Cornwallis had been ordered out to take his place, with instructions to reverse the "forward" movement.

But to enable us to fully understand the meaning of this change, we ought to look back to the beginnings of the Company's political career.

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CHAPTER VII

*EAST INDIA COMPANY***Section 1 —Beginning of the Company's Empire**

General
observa-
tions.

All the materials being now at hand, the unprecedented spectacle was presented of a mighty Empire being founded by a commercial syndicate. From a dingy set of offices in the city of London mandates issued which were obeyed by the subjects of thrones which had long ago been set up by mighty oriental despots, and in regions of eternal summer. Nor had these astonishing results been entirely due to the weakness of the people of the country the native armies had, in some instances, been conquered in battle, but there had been no general resistance or combination of States like that which was seen when Hindus encountered Muslims in 1761. Neither had the acquisition of territory proceeded from any deliberate policy of aggrandisement such as came to be professed later. Clive restored the territories of the Oudh Nawáb in 1765, when he had beaten him at Buxar, and he expressly proposed to make the river Karmnása the boundary of British rule. Hastings gave Gantúr to the Nizám's brother, and was ready to surrender the whole Northern Sircárs. Cornwallis thought of making Bombay a mere "treaty-port" such as Hong-Kong has been since, in China, and in 1782

the Government in London proposed to abandon Fort St George and the Madras Presidency altogether. But, as the old science used to say, "Nature abhors a vacuum," there was no government in India that was properly efficacious, and that is a thing that civilised men cannot long do without. The testimonies to this are numerous, consistent, and convincing. The anarchy that followed the death of Muhammad Sháh at Delhi and of Chin Kílích Khán in the Deccan, had deepened in the latter part of the eighteenth century until the country was becoming a desert in which only those human beings survived who were able to do so by the rudest qualities of strength and cunning. The consequence was that, when men appeared who stuck to each other, obeyed orders, and for the most part kept their words, the inhabitants of the Indian countries were ready to yield them mastery. The princes, indeed, few of whom had a better title than the Company's own, made natural resistance, and in the south the French chiefs who had hoped to become masters opposed the British in a spirit of intelligible rivalry, so that in that part of the peninsula the settlement of Pondicherry and the State of Haidarábád, remain to this day, as proofs that such opposition was not altogether unsuccessful. But, in Hindustán itself, where the struggle was begun as part of a defence against Daulat Ráo Sindhia (himself an intruder), it cannot be said that "the country" was conquered at all, in the modern sense of conquest, which implies the vanquishing of a national resistance, and the subver-

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sion of the national society The people of Hindustán offered no resistance, and their systems and institutions were respected and have been maintained without organic change ever since When the Franco-Marátha power in Hindustán had been overthrown the British assumed the substance of sovereignty, but founded their rule upon an inarticulate consent of the people which implied on their part an obligation to respect all that the people loved and honoured

At the same time all this could not have been done without aid from the government of Great Britain In the wars of Wellesley bodies of royal troops gave strength and solidity to the Company's armies Hence arose grave questions as to the responsibility of that government for the use to which acquisitions of territory so gained should be put, and for the principles which should guide their administration Moreover, in the time now under consideration, a spirit of philanthropy was beginning to prevail, together with a new-born national conscience Of this the first signs had appeared when Warren Hastings returned from India in 1785 His proceedings being impugned in the British House of Commons the government withdrew its support, and the ex-Governor was impeached before the highest tribunal in the land After a tedious and costly process Hastings was acquitted in 1795, and history has, generally speaking, affirmed the award But this trial, and still more the constant scandals arising at Madras, called out the feeling of the country and Parliament In 1784 an Act was

passed providing for the control of the East India Company by a Board of Commissioners presided over by a responsible Minister, and the power left to the Directors of that Company was confined to three members of the body instead of being, as formerly, exercised by the entire Court. It may be added here, to complete the record, that this political aspect of the Company's power remained substantially unaltered to the end of its existence for though on subsequent renewals of the Charter (1813-1833) the monopolies of trade in India and in China were successively abolished, as a machine of administration, the "secret committee" acting under the Board of Control continued to carry on war and civil government, to appoint and remove agents high and low, and generally to represent Great Britain in the East, until 1858.

The Company's political career thus began to be a lawful and Parliamentary delegation on the passing of the Act of 1784, though its agents did not really become rulers of the "Empire" until the treaty of Anjangaon twenty years later. From this latter date, however, it is the fact that the dominions of Akbar were at the disposal of the agents of an Association formed to deal in nutmegs and long-cloth. In these conditions the several Provinces almost cease to have any special life, and the history of India becomes the history of the Empire of the Company, ruling or influencing in the cause of peace.

In the following-up of this ideal there were vacillations and retrogressions, for the ideal was imperfectly

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Board of
Control
1784

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 Sir George
 Barlow
 acts as
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*Wellesley's
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grasped for some time The immediate successor of Lord Wellesley was Sir George Barlow, for the few weeks' incumbency of the veteran Cornwallis who had been sent out a second time was not marked by any act on But the policy which he had been ordered to follow was to be a reversal of Wellesley's imperial schemes and when he died Barlow stepped into his office as senior member of Supreme Council His short incumbency fully justified the rule, afterwards officially formulated on the advice of Mr Edmonstone—himself one of the most distinguished of the Anglo-Indian civil servants—that no member of the local service ought ever to be made Governor-General Barlow had been an ardent imperialist in Wellesley's time, but now embraced the new policy with the unreasoning zeal of an official proselyte. Lord Lake, who exercised political no less than military authority in Hindustán, found all his measures thwarted ignoble concessions were made to Sindhia at the expense of other allied powers and Holkar, who had been run down after a course of insult and devastation, was restored to all his capacities of mischief. Rájputána became the battle-field of vast contending armies, and the foundation was allowed of the predatory power which was to lay waste Central India for more than ten years under Amír Khán and other Pindári leaders In the case of the Nizám, however, Barlow showed that he was not altogether blind to the responsibilities of paramount power, for he regulated the affairs of the Deccan on the express

ground that to neglect them would be to subvert the "foundation of British power and ascendancy" With the Darbar of Poona, also, he displayed firmness, and informed the authorities in London that the maintenance of their treaty-obligations with the Peshwá was essential to the supremacy of British All the more blame to him for ignoring such considerations in abandoning the Rajput Princes and leaving Central India a prey to anarchy and organised rapine

In 1807 Lord Minto—the President of the Board of Control in London—was appointed to the government of British India His first task was to interfere for the suppression of anarchy in Bundelkhand But a larger field soon opened for the exercise of paramount power In 1808 a mission was found necessary for the purpose of protecting the small Sikh States between the Jumna and the Satlaj It was conducted by Mr—afterwards Lord—Metcalfe, and proved a durable piece of diplomacy not only was Ranjít Singh, the Rajá of Lihor, persuaded to relinquish his claims to these feudatories, but he continued to preserve his fidelity, in spite of some serious trials for thirty years Another mission that of Mr Elphinstone to Kábul, was not so successful Sháh Shuja, great-grandson of Ahmad the Abdali, the victor of Panípat and founder of the Durání State, met the mission at Pesháwar But he was at that time in the heat of a struggle with his brother, and wanted more aid than the government of British India was prepared to give him The negotiations broke down without

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Lord
Minto.
1807

*Mission to the
Punjab,
1808*

*Mission to
Kábul*

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*Mission to
Persia*

the mission ever reaching its destination, the Sháh was chased from his dominions soon after and took refuge in British territory. A third mission was that led to Persia by Colonel afterwards Sir John Malcolm, whose object was to engage the aid of the Sháh of that country against possible dangers from France and Russia. This combination was indicated by the treaty of Tilsit, then recently concluded between Napoleon Bonaparte and the Czar Alexander. This was a still greater failure than the Kábul mission, for Persia was regarded in England as within the sphere of the Home Government, and Malcolm came back to Calcutta in consequence of a misunderstanding, without having even had an interview with the Sháh. In the meantime the English envoy had concluded a treaty with Persia and the only result of a second embassy which Minto was so ill-advised as to send was to add a new burden to those of the Indian tax-payer.

*The Pindaris
1809*

In 1809, a more legitimate opportunity of action occurred in the restless movements of Amír Khán the Pindari, who took the field in the Nágpur country at the head of a multitude of mounted plunderers. The measures of Minto were successful, though far from sufficient, and the robber chief resumed his operations after a short check.

*Barlow
Governor of
Madras*

In the meanwhile Sir G. Barlow, who had been consoled for not being confirmed in the Governor-Generalship by the subordinate Government of Fort St George, was pursuing his disastrous career. By

injudicious management he caused a general mutiny of the officers of the Company's army, and although, by the display of commendable firmness and the employment of Colonel Malcolm, he managed to outride this tempest, Barlow was at last recalled by the Court of Directors. The next event of Minto's rule which need be here noticed was the capture of Bourbon and Mauritius, the islands from whose shelter the French had been able to menace the British power and prey upon Indian commerce for half-a-century, this took place in 1810, and the ease with which the islands were taken formed a sufficient comment upon the negligence which had for so many years procrastinated so needful a measure. In 1811, the Governor-General took part in a successful expedition to Java, then held by the French Emperor as conqueror of the Dutch in Europe, but this fine island, captured by the exertions of one morning, was after the War restored to Holland under which it has ever since remained.

On Minto's return from Java it was found that something must be done to check the Pindáris, but it was easier to perceive this truth than to provide for its enforcement. In 1811, they transgressed the usual limits of their operations and ravaged the British territory of North Behár, coming within seventy miles of Patná. Minto sent home two despatches, urging the absolute necessity of repressing these outrages. The British, he said, owed protection to the weak and defenceless States which implored their assistance, and he prayed the Court of Directors to allow the

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OF THE 19th
CENTURY
COMPANY
LIMITED.

Mauritius
taken
1810

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EMPIRE*Minto's re-
turn,
1812*

Indian Government to assume the supremacy which the logic of events was indicating. In 1812, he returned to England, having vindicated the paramount authority of the British in Travancore, in Nágpur, in Bundelkhand, and up to the Satlaj, and prepared the way for the great and conclusive career of his successor. But the suppression of the Pindáris seemed still far from being accomplished.

Holkar, indeed, had ceased to give trouble. The strange events of his life, acting on habits of self-indulgence, had turned his brain; and he died in a state of insanity at Indore, 1814, leaving the Government of his territories to be carried on by his widow. But his place as an organiser of mischief had been taken by the Pindári chief, Amír Khán, who took advantage of the Regent being a woman to exercise a preponderating influence in the Holkar State, the civil administration being conducted under the Rání, by a Brahman named Tántia Topi. At Poona the Marátha chief was still the Peshwá Báji Ráo, whose rise was mentioned in connection with the events of 1796, and whose character had continued to exhibit an unfavourable development: he was now understood to be brooding ever his wrongs—real or imaginary—and to be husbanding the means of vengeance. Not only was the Pindári power growing to intolerable height in Central India, but on the north-east frontier the Nepális were encroaching in a way that could not much longer be overlooked.

Amid these threatening omens the Earl of Moura

took up the office of Governor-General Like Cornwallis he was a veteran of the American war and united with his charge that of Commander-in-Chief of the Indian armies but unlike Cornwallis he was a resolute Imperialist Before he had been many months in India he pronounced that the object he had in view was "to render the British Government paramount, in effect if not declaredly so and to oblige the other States to perform the two feudatory duties of supporting our rule with all their forces and submitting their mutual differences to our arbitration"

Having thus firmly struck the key-note of an Imperial policy, it was but natural that the Governor-General should take up a firm attitude towards the encroachments of the Nepális In June, 1813, he demanded the immediate restitution of the lands which they had seized on the Gorakhpur frontier, and on receiving a refusal replied by demanding that they should be surrendered within twenty-five days

The Gurkhá army was at once mobilised and a fresh inroad was made upon British territory in which a party of police was massacred Lord Moira immediately put four expeditions into the field, three of which presently fell back with disgraceful failure The effect was instantaneous All through Northern India the latent elements of hostility broke out The Peshwá—who really owed everything to the British who had saved him from destruction in 1802—set on foot a conspiracy for their ruin Amír Khán watched the southern border of Hindustán with 20,000 troops; and

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even Ranjít Singh of Lahore, who had so lately contracted an alliance with Metcalfe, appeared in arms upon the fords of the Satlaj. But these elements of mischief failed to cohere, and the success of Moira's fourth column, under Sir David Ochterlony, completely dispelled the threatened danger.

This General had been sent in 1815, against the hilly region of the Upper Satlaj where the summer seat of the British Government is now situated. The Gurkhá forces here were under their best leader, Amar Singh, who—though originally opposed to the war—had shown courage and patriotism when once his country was committed. After an arduous mountain campaign in which the troops were stimulated by the enthusiasm of their brave old leader to the most admirable endurance, all the enemies' strongholds but one were reduced. In the meantime Colonel Gardner, an Irish officer who had formerly been in the Marátha service, was called from his agricultural retirement in the Etah district and sent with some irregulars into the Kumáon Hills, which he entirely subdued and occupied, thereby completely separating Amar Singh from his base of operations in Nepál. At length the old warrior found himself driven into his last refuge—the hill fortress of Maláun, in Hindur—with only 200 followers. Just as the bombardment was about to commence he resolved to surrender, and was allowed to march out with all the honours of war. On his return to the Gurkhá capital, however, his indomitable spirit misled him to frustrate the nearly completed negotiations for

peace, and to persuade his Government to try a fresh conclusion. But the British ruler had now found the man that was wanted. At the head of 20,000 troops Ochterlony marched unopposed up a glen formed by a branch of the Bághmatí, and appeared at the village of Makwanpur, within five marches of the capital. Here he gave the Gurkhá army a final beating, after which the Darbar submitted without farther resistance. Peace was concluded, 2nd March, 1816, and the hardy highlanders have continued firm friends of the British Government from that day. The acquisition of the hill-stations of Nainí Tal and Simla, with the possession of several convalescent depots for British troops such as Ráníkhét,, Chakráta, and Dagshái came among the consequences of this war.

One more struggle was however necessary before the ideal set before his reluctant employers by the Governor-General could be considered to be reduced to reality. The first attempt at general supremacy was made on diplomatic lines, the Government of British India endeavoured to contract alliances, as between equal powers, with various Central Indian States by whose aid he hoped to raise enough men to check the inroads of the Pindáris and to hem them in north of the Narbadá. But his overtures were not at first very successful, most of the powers held aloof, till, in 1814-15, the Peshwá, by procuring the murder of the Gáekwar's envoy, whose safety had been guaranteed by the British Resident at Poona, brought upon himself a stern remonstrance, and a hostile isolation.

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*Nepalese war
ends,
1816*

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*The Pindaris,
1815-17.*

At the end of 1815, while the negotiations with the Nepal Darbar were still unfinished, the Governor-General was driven to give serious consideration to the concerns of Central India, and a strong minute was sent to London on the question of a general revision of the alliances and general relations of the British in India. Before it could be answered the insolent impatience of the Pindáris had precipitated the crisis. At the close of the rains in 1815 the Pindáris crossed the Narbadá, and plundered the Nizám's dominions to the banks of the Krishna river. In February, 1816, the raid was repeated and a large body of marauders with fire and sword harried Gantúr—now a British District. At this crisis died the Rájá of Nágpur on whose aid and countenance the Pindáris depended, and before the end of May the British ruler had concluded an alliance with the head of the Regency of that State, the heir being a minor. In 1816 Mr Canning, the celebrated orator, became President of the Board of Control, and on hearing of the atrocious raid into Gantúr gave sanction for the "vigorous exertion of military power in vindication of the British name," and in defence of subjects who look to us for protection. That sanction being obtained, the aged Governor took the field in person, having first muzzled the treacherous hostility of the Peshwá by a treaty which took from him great part of his powers of mischief. It was signed 13th June, 1817, and is one of the high distinctions of the then Resident at Poona, the Hon'ble M Elphinstone. But there were still 100,000 armed

men in Central India, under famous chiefs, and a system of alliances with native States, such as Moira felt to be needed, was still among the things strictly prohibited by his masters.

In these circumstances the Governor took the masterful resolution to which, more than to any single event, is due the establishment and consolidation of the British Empire in India, both as a paramount power and as a focus of unification. He left Calcutta, as above stated, in July, 1817, and on his way up the country wrote a minute in which he announced his intention of dealing with the crisis independently of his Council, and without reference to the views of the Home Government. It was a strong measure, yet we cannot withhold admiration from the veteran who, at an age when most men are at rest, and at a season when all modern Indian magnates are at hill stations, thus threw himself into an unknown future where to fail or to succeed was almost equally dangerous, and where his sole reward was likely to be his country's good and the approval of his own conscience.

All the alliances that he desired were at once secured by this boldness. Within four months Mr Metcalfe, now become Resident at Delhi, concluded treaties with all the Chiefs of Rájputána, and most of those in Central India, upon the basis of "subordinate co-operation and acknowledged supremacy." Four armies now converged upon the Pindári centre. Sindhia was warned and shut off from all possible demonstrations of sympathy with the marauders, Amír Khan was

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*Lord Moira's
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action,
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supremacy
established
over India,
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tamed and made feudatory in the little principality of Tonk, still held by his descendants. The Peshwá attacked Mr Elphinstone, but was thoroughly repulsed at Kirki, near Poona, the Rajá of Nágpur made a similar treacherous assault on his Resident, Mr Jenkins, and met a like fate at Sitábáldi, the new Holkar, following in the steps of his fathers, was defeated at Mahidpur and deprived of part of his dominions which were parted amongst allies of the British. Thus isolated, the Pindáris were dealt with in detail. Karim Khán, one of their chief leaders, was surprised, put to flight, and taken prisoner. Chitu, the other most powerful leader was run down, separated from his followers, and chased into a jungle where he was killed by wild beasts.

In the middle of October, 1817, the various enemies of the British Government mustered over 150,000 men, with 500 pieces of artillery. By the second month of 1818 the power of Sindhia had been paralysed, the army of Holkar broken up, the Peshwa driven from his country, the Pindáris annihilated and it became clear to all the races from Comorin to the Satlaj that the foreign power was now over all supreme. Tranquillity had at the same time been finally established in Upper India by the reduction of the Bargujars and Játs who had taken the opportunity to rebel. The destruction of the strong fort of Háthras and the expulsion of the contumacious Rájá, Dayá Ram, took place just before the Governor-General left Calcutta and completed the pacification of that important region.

Having thus extinguished all opposition and prepared universal peace the Marquess of Hastings, as he now became, proclaimed the sovereignty of the East India Company and declared that the Indus was the virtual boundary of British rule

Such was the settlement of 1818, which deserves the special notice of the student as the era when India, in oriental language, "came under one umbrella" And this, which surpassed the ephemeral triumphs of Alexander of Macedon and Napoleon of France, was the work performed by the agents of a reluctant and remote Government, raised to Empire in spite of its own fears and scruples Next—it next to any one—only to his namesake and predecessor, the Marquess of Hastings is the true *maker of India*.

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Section 2 —Consolidation of the Company's Empire

The meaning of what was above said regarding the limit to be placed upon the phrase "conquered country," as applied to India, will now be understood India was not "a country," and was not "conquered" But many usurping chiefs, and many marauding fraternities were encountered and subdued, some by diplomacy and some by force and the ultimate result was to prepare the various provinces and States of the peninsula to approach to the coherence which alone could create a nation Yet no friendly State suffered some indeed had the boundaries of their jurisdiction enlarged The ancient principalities of Rājputāna

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*Lord Morra
made Mar-
quess of
Hastings*

*The maker of
India*

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attained a safety, and even an independence, of which they had never been sure under the Muslim rule. The derivative power of the Mughals in the Deccan was preserved and strengthened. In the case of the friendly State of Oudh—formerly the chief of the hereditary Vazir of the Empire—a further and perhaps questionable step was taken for the Nawáb-Vazir was encouraged to assume the title of *Badsháh*, hitherto reserved for the Emperor to whose authority the Company had succeeded. This may be fairly deemed an error, for it was an inherent principle of the Empire of India that there could be only one sovereign of that rank, and to acknowledge it in the person of any feudatory ruler was false to that principle. The jurisdiction of Empire of India is unification. It was for this that Akbar had fought and laboured, and in the strenuous, though ill-starred, attempt for the same object Alamgir had wasted fifty years. Nevertheless, on the whole view of the case, a state of things had undoubtedly been established by Lord Hastings which, under the guise of conquest, really made for national unification.

The few remaining events of this great administration may be briefly summarised. The independence that the Governor had shown in entering on the late transactions gave such offence to the Court of Directors that they withheld all reward and thanks—not only from Hastings himself, as was perhaps to be expected—but from the brave officers and men who had carried out his orders. But he held his course. His

employers had been opposed to the education of the natives, but Hastings in a public speech repudiated such opposition, and squared his conduct by the opposite policy. The Hindu College and other places of instruction were founded, and all the subsequent efforts for native education owe their origin to this administration. The censorship of the periodical Press was, virtually, abolished, the Governor asserting his conviction that it was good for those in authority even when their intentions were most pure, that they should be under the control of public opinion.

The threads of the late war were now fastened off. The Peshwá was forced to surrender and was granted personal pardon for all his offences, with a handsome allowance, and permission to reside at Bithur, on the Ganges. The strongholds of Central India were reduced and dismantled. Disturbances in Orissa were suppressed, and grievances in that Province inquired into with a view to redress. Lastly, the finances were so handled that, in spite of the vast and decisive military operations that he conducted, Hastings increased the permanent revenue and lessened the permanent expenditure. The country of the Peshwá was divided, the Province of Satara being entrusted to the family of Sivají, the original founder of the Marátha nation, and the residue added to the narrow area under the British Presidency of Bombay.

The one real blot on the rule of Hastings was the foundation of financial corruption at Haidarabád. Too late for his good name the Governor-General

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found out, from the reports of the energetic and faithful Metcalfe, that a firm of European speculators had been preying on the funds of the Nizám and compromising the credit of the British Government. One of the partners was connected with Hastings by marriage, and the kindly feelings and unsuspecting nature of the veteran noble had been grossly abused. But, when once his eyes were opened, he allowed no scope to private sentiment. The nefarious operations of the firm, known as "Palmer & Co.," were sharply arrested, and the Nizám's finances were at once restored.

This transaction was the more deplorable since it gave a handle to the enemies of Hastings of which they made but too much use. After a career of industrious application and self-sacrificing usefulness, such as has been seldom equalled and never surpassed, he retired at the end of 1822. His own affairs were in such a state that a grant of annual pension—such as is usually made in such cases—would have soothed his few remaining years but all he obtained was the record of a finding that he was "not guilty of acting from corrupt motives." He was fain to accept the governorship of the little island of Malta, which he held till his death at the age of seventy-two years, of which 55 had been passed in the service of his country. With tardy benevolence the Court of Directors rewarded the memory of the establisher of their Empire by paying his family £20,000.

*Lord Hastings
retired,
1822*

**Lord
Amherst**

The next Governor-General was Lord Amherst, whose incumbency was marked by the first Burmese

war (1824-26) and the first sepoy-mutiny to which it gave rise. This latter event, which was confined to one regiment of native infantry, was officially pronounced to be "an ebullition of despair at being compelled to march without the means of doing so." Nevertheless it proved the beginning of a decline in the fidelity of the Bengal army. Another event of Amherst's time was the taking of Bhartpur by Lord Combermere, the Commander-in-Chief. This fortress, which had successfully resisted Lake twenty years before, was now taken, in January, 1826, the stormers entering by a great breach produced by mining. The affair arose out of a disputed succession, and was settled without further trouble. Amherst was rewarded by a step in the peerage, and retired in the beginning of 1828, leaving the land at peace but the finances seriously compromised.

His successor was Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, son of the third Duke of Portland, and cousin to the Minister, Mr. Canning. Like several of his predecessors, he had been in the military service of the Crown, he had also been Governor of Fort St. George from 1803 to 1806, when the Vellore mutiny led to his recall. Lord W. Bentinck assumed office in July, 1828, and the term during which he held it is famous for administrative reform and financial prosperity, as also for measure of an honourable boldness by which criminal practices forming no part of the ancient religion of the people were abolished, and the higher education was placed upon a basis of European

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Burmese War
1824-26

Sepoy mutiny

Fall of Bhartpur
1826

Amherst returns
1828

Lord
William
Bentinck,
1828

SIC II.	knowledge Soldier as he was, Bentinck waged no
CONSOLIDA- TION OF THE COMPANY'S EMPIRE <i>His adminis- trative reforms</i>	costly war, the map of India underwent but little change in his time—though at an interview between him and Ranjít Singh, of Lahore, the old Rájá predicted that it would “all become red”—the only annexations that he made werethose of Cachar and Coorg But—under a
<i>Cachar and Coorg an- nexed</i>	storm of insult and obloquy—Bentinck carried out or- ders from home for reducing the allowances of civil and military officers, he braved native hostility by examin- ing the titles of claimants to exemption from revenue, and by declaring widōw-burning (<i>Satí</i>) a penal offence
Abolition of Satí	He abolished the species of deadly robbery known as <i>thagi</i> , he endeavoured to check maladministration in the so-called “Kingdom of Oudh,” and he put the
<i>Suppression of Thagi</i>	dominions of the Rájá of Maisur under sequestration for incorrigible misgovernment The administration of civil justice was remodelled, and a Chief Court— <i>Sadr Adalat</i> —was instituted for the Upper Provinces while the passing of Regulation IX of 1833 removed all immediate danger of subjection there to the dis- astrous “Permanent settlement” which had done so much mischief in Bengal But the greatest of all Bentinck's ideas—though it is only lately, after the lapse of more than half-a-century, that it has been sincerely adopted—was the general employment of Hin- dus and Muslims, the fittest men available, without distinctions of creed or colour This is, no doubt, the least that sound statesmanship requires, and it is a policy to be carefully distinguished from one of “Home rule,” or “India for the Indians,” which may
<i>Employment of Natives</i>	

perhaps be considered a peril to that supremacy of the British Government which seems still necessary to progress and unification. But to exclude men, only because they were born in the country and adhered to its ancient creeds, was to go to the opposite extreme, and set up an oppression never before attempted in any similar circumstances. Bentinck's moderate measure also involved the repeal of a monstrous custom which had grown up of refusing subordinate employment to native Christians. Lastly, this large-minded ruler laid the first stone of a medical college, and gave the Hindus an opportunity of distinction in a humane and beneficent profession which they have since cultivated with success.

As to finance, always the final test of Indian statesmanship, Bentinck's administration showed great efficiency. He found that Hastings' surplus had been turned into a heavy deficit, he once more reversed the balance and left a surplus of a *lakh* and-a-half. Bentinck left his post in March, 1835, and the inhabitants of Calcutta honoured his memory by the erection of a statue for which Macaulay who had been a member of Bentinck's Council, wrote a deservedly eulogistic inscription. The Home Government allowed him to retire into private life without reward. It is indeed, worthy of remark, that the greatest public services are not always the most sure of contemporary recognition. Warren Hastings went to his grave undecorated, as did Mountstuart Elphinstone. Metcalfe was refused the Governor-Generalship, he was even

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*Lord William
Bentinck
retired,
1835*

<p>SFC II</p> <p>CONSOLIDATION OF THE COMPANY'S EMPIRE</p>	<p>refused the government of Madras, though afterwards ennobled for services elsewhere The treatment of Lord Hastings we have seen Such cases form a startling contrast with the honours bestowed on other men</p>
<p>Lord Auckland</p> <p><i>Afghan affairs.</i></p>	<p>The beneficent administration of Bentinck was immediately followed by Lord Auckland's calamitous career But in order to explain the nature of this it will be necessary to take a short retrospect of the affairs of the Afghán State It may be remembered that Ahmad Shah, commonly known as "the Abdali," after overthrowing the Maráthas in 1761, founded what has been since entitled "the Durání Empire," and that his grandson, Zemán Sháh, was at one time a cause of alarm to the Indian authorities, he died in full possession of power, but his son Shah Shujá was driven out of the country and forced to take refuge in British India The brother who usurped his power continued to prosper so long as he entrusted his administration to his able Vazir, Fateh Khán, but at last he became jealous and murdered the Minister, whose son Dost Muhammad avenged the crime, and made himself master of Kabul, the metropolis, in 1826 In 1834 Sháh Shujá entered the country from Hindustán but Dost Muhammad encountered him and drove him back with loss Dost Muhammad next attacked the ally of the British, Ranjít of Lahore, but encountered the hostility of the Persians acting on Russian aid and instigation till at length, Herat was besieged by them but the place was successfully defended under the direction of a</p>

British officer who chanced to be present In 1836, moreover, Dost Muhammad was led to invoke the protection of the Governor-General against the aggression of the Sikhs, who had seized upon the town and valley of Pesháwar "My friend," replied the British ruler, "you know that it is not the practice of the British Government to interfere in the affairs of other States" Thus admonished Dost Muhammad went down to Pesháwar and defeated the Sikhs by the aid of his own troops alone This was in 1837, and while the war was still proceeding a British envoy—Captain Burnes—made his appearance at the Court of Kíbul Meantime the siege of Herat was proceeding and Lord Auckland, separating himself from his legitimate advisers, was spending the summer on the secluded heights of Simla Here he received his inspiration from his Foreign Secretary, Mr William Macnaghten, and two able but irresponsible young officers, Torrens and Colvin So that, when a despatch arrived from Burnes recommending that Pesháwar should be restored to Dost Muhammad, while the latter was entertaining a Russian envoy and asking the Russian Government to assist him against the Sikhs, Lord Auckland addressed Dost Muhammad such an unfriendly letter as to complete his alienation from British interests Burnes returned to Simla and found the junto there bent upon making an alliance with the Sikhs and with Sháh Shují, for the purpose of giving the former some part of the Afghan territories, and making the latter ruler of the rest The scheme was adopted by the Cabinet

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Dost
Muhamad

*defeats the
Sikhs, 1837,*

*is alienated
by Lord
Auckland,*

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*Expedition
against Dost
Muhammad
1839*

*Shah Shuja
installed at
Kabul*

of London in spite of warning and objections from the most competent experts, such as Mountstuart Elphinstone, Lord Wellesley, and his illustrious brother, the conqueror of Napoleon. In the middle of the year 1838, there was still time for re-consideration the Persians retired discomfited from the siege of Herat, and the Russian menace was, for the time, conjured. But nothing would alter the Governor's determination or shake his disastrous firmness. In November was issued the fatal manifesto, on the 10th December, the Bengal column set forth from Ferozpur, supported by a force from Bombay. On the 6th April, 1839, after a disastrous march through uncultivated and unexplored country, the columns united at Quetta, and the whole came under command of Sir John Keane, the senior officer. At first all went fairly well. The Amirs of Sind were constrained to submit, Kandahar was occupied, Ghazni, that ancient seat of Empire, was taken by storm in the most brilliant manner. The army being now within 90 miles of Kabul, Dost Muhammad retired across the Hindu Kush, and on the 7th August, Shah Shuja entered the capital in state, and took up his residence in the fortified palace called Bala Hissar. The object of the expedition was now accomplished, and the British power had emulated Akbar. A tributary prince had been placed in charge of Kabul, the cradle of the Mughal Empire, and the burial-place of Babar. Dost Muhammad surrendered himself and was sent as a prisoner to Calcutta. All that could possibly be called

statesmanship in the Simla manifesto was exhausted and by the terms of that instrument the British troops should now have been withdrawn from Afghán soil.

As if in vainglorious defiance of public opinion which, led by the experts, had consistently disapproved of the great scheme, its success was celebrated by a shower of decorations and a roll of titles. Auckland became an Earl, Sir John Keane a Baron with an annuity for three lives. Macnaghten and two other officers were made Baronets. On the 27th June, the old "Lion of the Panjáb" died, and was succeeded by anarchy so great that Sir W. Macnaghten contemplated the occupation of the Panjáb as an addition to his existing tasks. For over two years this incredible situation went on. And then the bubble burst. The British camp was entirely commanded by the Bala Hissár and the adjacent hills, the Ghilzais broke into revolt, and the expenses of the occupation and its attendant troubles having alarmed the Court of Directors, an early evacuation was advised by them. But Auckland clung to his great scheme: then came more revolts, then the rising in Kabul and murder of Burnes (2nd November, 1841) and then the beleaguering of the garrison in their exposed cantonment.

The remainder of the miserable story is soon told. The brigades and divisions in outlying parts of Afghanistan were unable to come to the relief of the troops at Kabul, the command of the insurgents was assumed by a son of Dost Muhammad, Akbar Khán, a young

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*Murder of
Burnes,
1841*

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*The garrison
marched out of
Kabul,
1842*

*Lord
Auckland
superseded,
1842*

*Lord
Ellen-
borough*

Kabul entered

man of energy, the envoy was murdered by him on the 23rd December, and on the 6th January, 1842, the remnant of the garrison set out on the homeward march under a guarantee of safe conduct which was perhaps insincere from the first and was certainly never carried out. A week later the last survivor struggled into Jalálábád, where a division of the army under General Sale still held out. The news reached Mr George Clerk, the British Resident of Lahore, on 22nd January, and he immediately organised a fresh force to relieve the remains of the expedition but before any decisive steps could be taken Auckland was superseded by Lord Ellenborough, formerly President of the Board of Control, who arrived in Calcutta 28th February, 1842.

On the 5th April, Pollock had fought his way to Jalálábád but Ellenborough ordered him to return and also recalled General Nott from Kandahár. Replying in terms of deference and circumspection, these two gallant officers slowly pursued their respective routes, and presently, receiving from the Governor-General a guarded permission which left the greater part of the responsibility to them, they ended their march by meeting at Kábul when the British standard was hoisted over the Bala Hissár 15th September, 1842. After inflicting solemn and severe reprisals the united armies returned to India, bringing with them over 100 British hostages men, women, and children, whom Akbar Khán had ordered to be sent into Turkestán and sold as slaves to the Uzbeks. Dost Muhammad was

released from his captivity in Calcutta, and returned to Kabul, where he continued for many years a somewhat uncertain ally. Ellenborough's further proceedings were at discord with his habitually peaceful professions. Stirred up by one of his general officers, Sir Charles Napier, he made war upon the Amírs of Sind whom he charged with a breach of the engagements into which they had entered at the opening of the Kabul war. They were overthrown in two pitched battles, and their country annexed. This unjust aggression brought its own reward in a partial mutiny of the Bengal army, demoralised by recent events. The mild treatment which the erring regiments met with did over the immediate trouble, but laid the train of a more general explosion thirteen years later. The next event was no less martial. Daulat Ráo Sindha had died in 1827, being succeeded by an adopted son, who followed him to the funeral pile in 1843. Intrigues and political crises ensued, to put a stop to which Ellenborough resolved on interfering. Declaring formally the paramount and controlling power of the British Government, he entered the Gwalior territory at the end of the year, the local army opposing him. Two battles were fought, in one of which the Governor-General, with several ladies, found himself involuntarily engaged, and a new treaty was made with the Gwalior Darbar, by which the power of the army was curtailed.

On the 15th June of the same year Ellenborough received news of his recall. The Court of Directors

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*Des^r
Muhammad
released*

*Annexation
of Sindh,
1843*

*Interference
in Gwalior.*

*Lord Ellen
borough
recalled,
1844.*

<p>SFC II</p> <p>CONSOLIDATION OF THE COMPANY'S EMPIRE</p>	<p>having declared that they had lost all confidence in his judgment or consistency. With the exception of the above-stated military exploits and a few petty internal reforms, the history of India during this short and showy administration was a blank. The next Governor-General was another old soldier, Sir H Hardinge, who had also been a member of the British Parliament and Chief Secretary for Ireland. He made a declaration of pacific intentions before leaving London, but the tide of events was too strong for him. He is now chiefly remembered as the breaker of the Sikh power and the preparer of the annexation of the Panjáb.</p>
<p>Sir Henry Hardinge</p>	<p>In 1845 the ostensible government at Lahore was in the hands of Ranjít's widow and her favourite, Rájá Lál Singh, but these and all other Panjáb chiefs were in deadly peril from the prætorian spirit of the army as a last chance of freedom from whose coercion and treachery they determined on the counterstroke of sending them to be destroyed in India. The scheme was successful. After some preliminary fighting the gallant Sikh troops found themselves holding their own against Hardinge and Gough at Firozsháhr on the night of 21st December, 1845. Next morning they were joined by reinforcements under Lál Singh and his associate Tej Singh. For a moment the British army, weary and with empty ammunition-pouches, appeared given over to ruin. Then the Sikh chiefs turned away, and their men were driven from the field. Twice more the Sikhs fought, with their backs to the Satlaj, but their leaders fled, and their rout at</p>
<p><i>Sikh war</i></p>	
<p><i>Firozshahr, 1845</i></p>	

Sobráon was blood and decisive This was 10th February, 1846, and on the 9th March, a settlement by treaty was concluded at Lahore on the model of the recent arrangement at Gwalior The army was to be disbanded, and the Government to be carried on by a native Regency advised by a British Resident, the able and chivalrous Henry Lawrence But the arrangement proved purely provisional The snake of the Khálsa had been only scotched In 1848 the Sikh army, re-uniting its scattered parts, held out at Múltán and showed all its old valour at Chilianwála At length it received its death-blow on the field of Gujarat, at the end of February; and before March was over the fugitive fragments had been pursued by General Gilbert, and 16,000 men laid down their arms

This which has been related here for the sake of continuity, was the first exploit of a new Governor of British India, Hardinge having retired in the last days of 1848 and been succeeded by a young Scottish peer, the Earl of Dalhousie Hardinge had only ruled 42 months, during great part of which he had been engaged in war, but he found time to lay the foundation of several important undertakings of which his energetic successor afterwards obtained the whole credit Among these were canals, railways and State-education

With Dalhousie the consolidation of the Empire was completed Though his long administration was otherwise most remarkable, its chief distinction for us must be the great progress made towards accomplish-

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Sourdon,
1846

Chilianwála
and
Gujarat,
1849

Lord
Dalhousie,
1848.

Consolidation
under Lord
Dalhousie

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*Annexation
of the Panjab
1849*

*Second Bur-
mese war
Pegu annexed
1852*

ing the unity begun by Lord Hastings. The prediction of Ranjít Singh was almost fulfilled, the red colour was drawn over the greater part of the peninsula by Dalhousie's system of annexation, while his legislative and material improvements did much to complete the work by bringing all the various populations under a uniform system and abridging the natural separations of rivers, mountains and vast distances. Among these should be mentioned the electric telegraph and a cheap and uniform postage.

The Panjáb became a British Province on the 29th March, 1849, and was at once put into the charge of Henry Lawrence and his civilian brother, John. The peace was ensured by a general disarmament, and a settlement of land revenue was made in which the demands of the State were reduced and rendered uniform and certain. Local codes were enacted, roads, canals and cantonments were laid out, and a country which for ten years had been a source of ceaseless alarm became a scene of peaceful industry and a powerful bulwark of the Empire.

Next followed a second Burmese war, which ended in the annexation of the Province of Pegu at the end of 1852. Great and permanent prosperity ensued for British Burma.

Other annexations were more questionable. In the absence of Dalhousie's papers, which have not yet been made public, his policy is condemned by those who deny its fundamental principle. This was that the Indian populations must prefer being under a

strong and regular rule like the British. It is argued that this assumption involves a fallacy, and, when John Lawrence afterwards rose to the head of the British Indian Government, he so far modified it as to express the opinion that the subjects of Britain were happier than those of native States—if they did but know it,—a most important qualification. But, granting even the soundness of Dalhousie's principle, it still remains open to question how far he was justified in his application of it to particular cases. Sítara, for example, the last appanage of the Marátha House of Sivají, was held to have lapsed on the death of the Rajá without issue in 1849. It was true that the Raja had adopted an heir and that by Hindu law an adopted heir was entirely equivalent to an heir of the body; but it was Dalhousie's view that this law ought not to extend to political functions. In 1853 the same reasoning was applied to Jhansi, and these States were annexed under what has been termed "the doctrine of lapse." In the same year the doctrine was further applied to the Rájaship of Nágpur—where, however, there had been no adoption, and the Peshwá's adopted son was refused the pension and political attributes of his father.

It is perhaps sufficient to say of the system that it was most bitterly resented by those concerned, and that it has been expressly abandoned in later days. The case of Oudh rests on other grounds and has led to less discussion. Bentinck had warned the "King" twenty years ago, and was actually contemplating the

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Lord Dalhousie's policy

Annexations of
Sátara

*Juinn,
1853,*

*Nágpur,
1853,*

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OF THE
COMPANY'S
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Oudh,
1856

*Lord
Dalhousie
retired,
1856*

sequestration of this authority when his own administration came to an end. Since then the misgovernment of Oudh had gone on from bad to worse, and the consciousness that it was only rendered possible by the presence of British troops had long weighed upon the most honest and serious British rulers with a sense of intolerable responsibility. On the eve of his departure from India Dalhousie received orders from home for the deposition of the profligate and indolent "King", and in his highminded way took the necessary steps rather than leave the case to his successor. The proclamation was issued 13th February, 1856, and in the following month, worn with work and sickness, Dalhousie laid down his office, and embarked for Europe on 6th March, 1856.

—O—

Section 3 —The fall of the Company's Empire.

Condition
of India,
1856

When Lord Dalhousie returned, to receive rewards and honours which he did not long live to enjoy, the Empire of the East India Company had reached its greatest glory and its widest extension. The Company's Charter had been renewed in 1853, the Government of India being left in the hands of the Court of Directors, but with some modifications, the most important of which was the curtailment in the number of members of the Court, a portion of whom were henceforward to be nominated by the Crown. Appointments to the Civil Service—which had formed the most valued of the Directors' privileges—were

henceforth to depend upon the result of competitive examinations open to any British subject of the prescribed age. The internal state of India seemed to promise the new ruler's day a cloudless dawn. The Oudh affair was settled, the King having peaceably retired into private life in Calcutta, and the Province being under British officials. Early in 1857 it came into Henry Lawience's care, who was sure to deal generously and make the change as little disagreeable as possible to the native community. Trouble in the Deccan had been allayed by an arrangement which took from the Nizám some territory that he could not govern and increased his revenue by half-a-lakh of rupees. All else seemed calm and prosperity. An expedition that had been sent from India to the Persian Gulf was meeting with success. Yet the new ruler was not without a strange presentiment. "I wish," he said, "for a peaceful issue of office, but I cannot forget that in the sky of India—serene as it is—a small cloud may arise, no larger than a man's hand, which may overwhelm us with ruin."

The man who uttered this expression of misgiving was the son of that Canning whose connection with India in past years has been already mentioned. It was not long before his prophetic fears were realised, almost to the full.

The cloud first arose at Barrackpur, the scene of the cruel treatment of the 47th Native Infantry by Sir E. Barnes in 1824. Early in January, 1857, a rumour became prevalent, among the sepoys by whom

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Lord Can-
ning.

Mutiny
at Barrack-
pore,
January,
1857

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EMPIRE*The spread of
sedition*

the cantonment was occupied, that the British Government had undertaken to make Christians of them, and with the view of first causing a breach between them and their compatriots, had prepared a new cartridge so skilfully defiled that whoever bit off the end must undergo excommunication, whether he were a Muslim or a Hindu. The mutiny at Barrackpur was put down, but the contagion was rapidly disseminated; partly by letters sent through the post office, partly by travelling emissaries of the disaffected princes of Hindustán, of the Ex-King of Oudh at Calcutta, the so-called Peshwá called "Nána Sahib" at Bithur, and the discrowned Emperor who was languishing in the old Mughal Palaces at Delhi. All these conspirators were served and kept in communication by Azim Ullah Khan, a promoted table-servant who had been in Europe as Agent for the Nana, and who watched the apparent weakness of British Military resources and their collapse in the Crimea with an observant but magnifying eye.

The result of all these intrigues and conspiracies was a general agreement throughout the native regiments of the Bengal army to rise in revolt upon the last Sunday in May at an hour when, all the Presidency through, from Barrackpur to Pesháwar, the European soldiers and officer would be at Church with nothing but their side-arms. All white people were to be massacred without distinction of age or sex the mutinous regiments were then to converge on Delhi and, proclaiming the rule of the Mughal

Empire and the Peshwáship of the Náná of Bithur as its Vicegerent, amalgamate in this way the Muslim traditions with the aspirations of the Hindus. Most happily, as those must think who believed that British rule is an advantage to India, the impatience of some of the sepoys and the incompetence of some of the British officers, precipitating the crisis, brought to abortion the complete birth of this monstrous project. Some men of the Bengal Cavalry quartered at Meerut—being sent to the Common jail, for refusing to use the new cartridges, were liberated by their comrades. Alarmed at their own success, the whole of the troops—with honourable exception—on the evening of Sunday the 10th May attacked their European officers, the Native Infantry corps joined the outbreak, the criminal classes of the town and the neighbourhood took their part in the work of blood and rapine, for many hours of that fatal night, in the face of a brigade of British troops of all arms, houses were plundered and burned, men women, and children barbarously murdered, and all the horrors of a successful siege carried on a cantonment of the British army. Sated at once and fearful of the future the mutineers set out for Delhi, the General at Meerut failed to pursue their retreat, on arriving there they renewed their work of slaughter. Massacre went on all day, the Europeans who survived being driven to wander over the fields to Meerut under the fierce sun of a Hindustan summer. The alarm now became general over the North-Western Provinces, the last office of

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Meerut, 10th
May, 1857*

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EMPIRE*The Emperor
proclaimed at
Delhi**Measures for
suppression*

the newly erected electric telegraph was to shoot to Calcutta the news of what was evidently the precursor of an extensive calamity. The old Emperor—"the King of Delhi," as he was then called—was enthroned in the palace of his fathers, and his sovereignty proclaimed, the telegraph-wires were cut, and the signallers murdered, in station after station the conduct of the Meerut mutineers was re-produced, ere long the rebel Government at Delhi was in possession of an arsenal, an artillery-park and a garrison of nearly 50,000 disciplined men.

The crisis was alarming, but it was boldly faced. Lord Harris, the Governor of Fort St George, sent up every available British corps from the Madras Presidency. Lord Elphinstone contributed generously from Bombay. Orders were sent to bring the expeditionary force from Persia so soon as the objects of the campaign should be attained. Lord Elgin, who was proceeding to China with troops, was intercepted in Ceylon and brought his men to Calcutta. And now were seen the fruits of all that the Lawrences had done in the Panjab. While General Anson marched upon Delhi with all the troops he could gather in the convalescent depots, and while Brigadier Wilson was converging with his men from Meerut, the native troops at Lahore were quietly disarmed by the local authorities. the magazines and arsenals of the Province generally were saved from the mutineers, who were everywhere deprived of the means of mischief, by disarmament or by active onslaught. Sikhs, and Patháns co-operated with the handful of

European troops at Sir J Lawrence's disposal, a flying column under Colonel Nicholson pervaded the Province, and order was restored at once and preserved thenceforward to the end

At Lucknow, and throughout the Province of Oudh, the other great brother, Sir Henry Lawrence was less fortunate. The annexation had been so recent, and so many wounded feelings and interests were still sore in this home of the Bengal sepoy. Every district was soon in revolt, the civil population uniting with the mutineers to an extent that was, fortunately, peculiar to Oudh. Sir H Lawrence led a small force against the rebels at Chinahat on the 31st May, but was overpowered and driven into the Residency, where he was killed by the bursting of a shell on the 4th July, leaving the fame of a gallant gentleman as benevolent as he was brave. At Cawnpur, 42 miles to the south-west, still greater was the temporary success of the revolt. The Naná claiming to be Peshwá of the Maráthas and Vicegerent of the Empire, detained the mutinous troops as they were marching to Dehli and, with them, attacked the entrenchment in which General H M Wheeler had taken post with the women and children and a handful of officers and men. Under a tempest of round and small shot and constant assaults, this gallant little troop held out for three weeks. at last, seeing their food and ammunition running short and in despair of rescue, they accepted terms. On the 27th June, they were conveyed to the bank of the Ganges and allowed to embark on boats in which it

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Cawnpore.

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had been promised that they should go down the river to Allalábád. Suddenly a bugle was heard and an attack of great and small guns opened on the boats under the orders of Tántia Topi, the Marátha General of the Náná. After many had been slaughtered the survivors were marched back to Cawnpur and thrown into prison four men—two of whom were officers—escaped by swimming down the river till they reached a friendly village.

On the 1st July, the Náná publicly assumed the provisional Government, and prepared to organise resistance. Why the British advance had been so long delayed would require an explanation too long and complicated to be given in this place. Suffice it to say that, after pacifying Benares and Allahábád, the small avenging column under General Havelock arrived at the last stage of the road to Cawnpur, where they fought a successful action against a force four times their number on 15th July. On the same day the captives were cruelly murdered and mangled by orders of the Náná, dead and living being finally thrown into a well. The British entered next day, after fighting another battle, and the Náná fled into Oudh, ultimately taking refuge in the Nepál hills where he is believed to have perished.

*First relief of
Lucknow*

General Sir J. Outram, on returning from his successful campaign in Persia, was sent up to join Havelock with reinforcements. Gracefully waiving the command he took his place as a volunteer by the side of the General whose small force had opened the

road, together they fought their way to Lucknow, which they entered, after a desperate struggle, on the 25th September. But beyond the distinction there was nothing gained by this exploit, only the addition of so many more mouths to be fed in the still-beleaguered Residency. In the meanwhile equal glory and more practical advantage had been gained at Delhi. The siege of that centre of hostility began on the 8th June, but was not conducted with much vigour for the first three months. In fact the small force that the Government could collect before Delhi was not only insufficient for the purposes of the siege, but was of such numerical inferiority to the garrison that there was some danger of the positions being reversed till the besiegers were themselves besieged in their own camp. But such were the untiring zeal and skill of Sir John Lawrence and his able subordinates that, early in September it was thought that, with the siege-train and other reinforcements derived from the Panjâb, an assault might be attempted with reasonable hopes of success. The odds were still enormous, but so were the stakes which involved the very existence of the Government and of every one of its adherents and their families. For a week the batteries played without cessation, night and day, upon the walls until the breaches were reported practicable. On the 14th September the assault began. During six days the possession of the vast area within the walls was obstinately contested, and many valuable lives were lost, including that of the great soldier General Nicholson. The fortified palace was taken on

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Siege of Delhi

Fall of Delhi

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the 20th and resistance ceased. The old "King" was captured, tried, and banished to Burma, and troops set forth to pacify the Duib as far as Cawnpur. This magnificent feat of arms—which has been never excelled by any body of soldiers—was the beginning of the end, but the end was still far off.

Meanwhile the blockade of the Residency of Lucknow went on. All Oudh was in arms, Rohilkhand was occupied by the rebels; most of the remaining districts continued to be more or less disturbed. But on 9th November, Sir Colin Campbell, the new Commander in Bengal, set out from Cawnpur at the head of 5,000 men, and bringing with him a train of heavy guns taken from vessels of war in the Hughli. On the 14th the raising of the siege of Lucknow was begun by this force nobly seconded by the efforts of the beleaguered garrison. On the 16th the city was occupied by the British forces after a desperate struggle and much slaughter, the women and children being skilfully removed under General Campbell's directions, and the position afterwards evacuated. Outram remained in the Alambagh with a small force, but Lucknow was not finally conquered till the following March after ten days' hard fighting.

Sir Colin returned to Cawnpur only just in time to rescue the small force which had been left there, and which had been severely handled by the forces of the mutineers during his short absence. The pacification of Oudh and Rohilkhand involved farther arduous labours which were not concluded for eighteen months.

more In the meantime other and scarcely less serious warfare went on in Central India, where the annexations of Nágpur and Jhínsi bore fruit in bitter hostility With troops from Madras and Bombay Sir Hugh Rose moved through the country, fighting several severe actions, and taking Jhínsi by storm on the 1st April, 1858 Weary and almost prostrated with exposure to the heat the little force staggered on to Kálpí where the rebels from Jhínsi had taken refuge and where they made another stand Rose again defeated them and took Kálpí where he and his followers prepared to take such repose as the conditions allowed, when the news reached them that Sindhia had been driven from his dominions and that the Maratha leader, Tántia Topi, had taken possession of Gwalior There was nothing for it but to move his exhausted but unconquerable troops once more, though the thermometer had reached 120° Fahrenheit, in the shade On 16th June, the mutineer force was attacked and driven out of the cantonment of Morár, on the 18th their entrenchment was stormed and all their guns were taken Gwalior was re-occupied without farther difficulty, and Sindhia restored but Tántia escaped he was not ultimately captured and executed for his share in the Cawnpur massacres till April, 1859

On the capture of Lucknow in March, 1858, Lord Canning issued an ill-advised proclamation declaring all the landed estates in Oudh confiscated for rebellion It was immediately negatived at home, but

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before the order for countermanding it could reach him, Canning had himself taken out its sting by a fresh order explaining that he only intended that all such landholders as should submit should receive a fresh and indefeasible title from the British Government. By the judicious execution of these orders, joined to the gradual success of the military operations, the Province was ultimately pacified, and it has continued to prosper ever since.

*Character of
the Mutiny.*

It might seem, from the case of Oudh, that the revolt of 1857-58 was something more than a "mutiny", princes and people were certainly unanimous in raising rebellion there, and in maintaining it obstinately as long as a chance of success appeared. In every sense of the word this is a national revolt. But happily for the work of the Empire it was peculiar to Oudh. In a few cases elsewhere leading persons took part, the valiant Rání at Jhánsi was as inveterate in her hostility as the "Begams" of Oudh or the "Queen" of Delhi. But the popular share in the movement was confined to the merest rabble, the criminal classes, and those who by birth or from misery are ever ready to sympathise with them. The rustic peasantry of the villages pursued their lives of honest industry, protecting themselves from plunder and giving such aid as they could to the authorities. The respectable townsmen were in far too much danger in person and property to have any desire to join the rebellion. In most districts, outside of Rohilkhand and Oudh, the district officials remained at their posts during the

whole, or the chief part, of the troubled time; and there was no instance of any serious delay in the movement of troops arising from want of carriage or supplies. Madras and Bombay remained quiet.

All this testified to the success and popularity of the Company's Empire. Yet the fall of that Empire was inevitable. Amongst the natives the word went forth that the hundred years that had elapsed since the conquest of Bengal by Clive had completed the fated cycle. In England there was mourning in the homes of the middle-classes by whom the country's destinies were, in the long run, controlled, a blind feeling of humiliation and a desire for vengeance. Among the higher and more instructed ranks from whom statesmen were usually taken, the more reasonable feeling arose that the Court of Directors had acted as a screen between the people of India and the Queen-in-Parliament, and that the future welfare of the great Dependency required a more direct submission of its affairs to Parliamentary control. It was in vain that the able advocates of the India House pointed out that the British Government had all along possessed, and often exercised, the power of the want of which complaint was now made. If the mutiny had been due to annexations the annexations had been sanctioned by the Board of Control. It more British troops would have prevented it or made its excesses less durable and fierce, why had not the British Cabinet sent out more British troops when Lord Dalhousie asked for them?

Such arguments, and there were others quite as

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The Com-
pany
doomed.

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vernment

good, were naturally of no avail against a decision of the national will, based on feeling rather than upon any well-considered chain of reasoning. Moreover, it must be admitted that the advocates of the Company were also taking their stand on somewhat sentimental ground, and the change when it came to be made, was found to be based less on a desire for the introduction of novelty than on a desire for leaving as much as possible of what was old. Provision was made for the extinction of the Company's stock in a course of years, for a Court of Directors partly elected by the shareholders was substituted a Council entirely appointed by the Crown, and the members of this Council were taken from the most distinguished members of the old Court. In India the change was even less marked. The Governor-General became a Viceroy, and he proclaimed the assumption of direct sovereignty by the Queen. But "*Kampani Bahadur*" continued to be household word in the village-life of the interior, and to this day "*Kampani ki dohai*" continues to be the accustomed cry for the oppressed and miserable among many millions of the subjects of the Crown.

The Proclama
tion on 1st
November,
1858

The transfer was proclaimed 1st November, 1858, and so far from unity was the Peninsula, still, that the proclamation had to be rendered in a full score of languages. But the facts of its issue was, of itself, another step in the direction of unification. The annexation-policy and "doctrine of lapse" were at the same time formally repudiated by the guarantee to all native chiefs of the right of adoption. The observ-

ance of all former obligations was also assured, and the new system began by an assumption of all existing duties and responsibilities, and by the promise of equal treatment for all citizens, without respect of creed, caste, or colour

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CHAPTER VIII

*INDIA UNDER THE BRITISH CROWN***Section I.—The first Viceroy (1858—91)***Condition of
India after
the Mutiny*

While the North-Western Provinces were the scene of the momentous events summarised in the last chapter, the south of India continued in the enjoyment of that happiness which is said to belong to lands that have no history. A few local disturbances occurred, scattered symptoms of sympathy with the aspirations of the northern army and its patrons but these were promptly suppressed by the skill and vigilance of Harris and Elphinstone and their subordinates. In other parts of India the work had been costly. In the disturbed districts, especially, besides the injury to agriculture and general business and the difficulty of collecting the revenue, there had been plundered treasuries and public property destroyed, added to unavoidable lavish expenditure. With crippled resources and credit temporarily lost, the local authorities had been called upon to improvise measures of defence and to supply the forces of the Government with carriage, provisions, and pay. The upshot was that a sum of fifty *krors* had been utterly lost, and a deficit of ten *krors* incurred in the annual revenue. To aid in rectifying the financial disorder the Home Government sent out one of the Secretaries to the Treasury,

Mr. James Wilson, a distinguished writer on money-matters. The customs-duties were revised, and an income-tax introduced, modelled perhaps, somewhat too closely on the English impost, while a State paper-currency helped to make good the deficiency of cash in circulation. Such was the success of these measures and such the elasticity of Indian resources, that the deficit was extinguished in three years without the addition of any intolerable burden to the shoulders of the people. Doubtless, it was a sinister augury that the Queen's Government should begin by raising the annual revenue of the country to the unprecedented figure of fifty *lacs*. It had, however, been quite as high in the time of the Mughal Empire, if allowance be made for a great depreciation in the value of money, and it has risen to a far higher amount since.

Simultaneously with these measures a general scheme of compensation for private losses by loyal citizens, and another of fines and forfeitures for rebellion were carried out, while the services of many chiefs and private subjects and military servants of the State who had rendered themselves conspicuously useful during the troubles were handsomely rewarded.

In 1860, three long-prepared bodies of law were enacted, one the famous Penal Code which goes by the name of Lord Macaulay, the others the Codes of Criminal Procedure and Civil Procedure, all which was due to the new Legislative Council and to Mr— afterwards Sir—Barnes Peacock. The whole judicial

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system was re-cast, the Crown Courts at the Presidencies being united with those which—under the title of *Sadr Adalats*—had hitherto held appellate and administrative control over the Company's Courts in the interior. At the same time were set on foot Small Cause Courts for the summary disposal of petty suits for money. Three Universities had been founded, at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, in the very stress of the Mutiny, 1857.

Lord Canning
retired, 1862

Canning retired in 1862, leaving the country where he had undergone so much only to die on returning home. It was a trial to succeed a man of fiery genius like Dalhousie, it was a double trial to have to grapple with the revolt of 100,000 janissaries, most of all must it have been a trial to do all this with a slow and dilatory mind and surrounded by advisers utterly unprepared for the situation. He obtained an Earldom before his death, and after it a monument among the greatest of his countrymen in Westminster Abbey.

Lord Elgin,
1863

Lord Elgin, who has been already referred to as head of a mission to China, was Canning's immediate successor. He assumed charge 12th March, 1863, and died, while on tour, in November, of the same year. His brief incumbency was only marked by the beginning of two mountain campaigns which were not very successful at first, and were not concluded until the next Viceroyalty. The first was the war with Bhután, the second that against the Sitána fanatics on the north-west frontier.

The alarm caused by these affairs led the Ministry

in London to break through the old rule and send out Sir J. Lawrence to take up the task of governing the country he had done so much to save when only a provincial ruler. Lawrence's term in the higher office, if not exactly a failure, did little to reverse the doctrine of Mr. Edmonstone adopted by Mr. Canning, to the effect that the Governor-General should never be an Indian civilian. He proved an unpopular ruler, penurious, shy, and deficient in dignity, but for a time the country was prosperous, the military measures already begun in Sítana and Bhután were crowned with success, though the final treaty with Bhutan was disadvantageous. On the whole all went well till 1866. That year, however, was defaced by a famine in Orissa which was not dealt with promptly or skilfully, and great loss of life ensued notwithstanding the generous assistance of the Governor of Madras. The tenancy question in Oudh was touched but not settled. The adopted son of the Rája of Maisur was recognised as heir to the *gadi* by orders from Home against the advice of the Viceroy, but the latter was allowed to refuse aid to Sher Ali, the new Amír of Kábul, in a way that was then called "masterly inactivity" but led to bad feeling and future mischief.

On retiring, in 1868, Lawrence was rewarded with a peerage, but an opinion was hazarded among the few who were competent to judge that he would have been thought even more capable of Empire if he had never held it. The Earl of Mayo was his successor, a man of some distinction in British politics and well

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financial
schemes*

suited to obliterate any unfavourable impressions that might have been made by real or supposed defects in his great but rugged predecessor. One of Mayo's first acts was a tentative step in the direction opposite to that of masterly inactivity. Sher Ali who had at last succeeded, without aid from India, in overcoming his domestic enemies, was invited to visit the Viceroy, and on the 29th March, was received in Darbar at Ambála with every proper mark of distinction. His title was fully recognised, and he was guaranteed a yearly grant of money and a present supply of arms. Subsequent events seemed to show that the memory of what he resented as neglect in the past had been by no means effaced. Mayo did something towards the great work of Indian unification. What was called "financial decentralisation" destroyed the hitherto prevalent evil caused by competition amongst local governments for supplies of imperial funds, and, by assigning to each fixed annual grants, gave to each a strong motive for economy. Mayo also began the reform of the salt-customs which had formerly been levied by means of barriers which had intercepted all freedom of commercial intercourse between the various Provinces of the Empire. Collected under arrangements thus prepared, the salt-tax has under Mayo's successors become an excise, raising a moderate contribution from those millions of the rural population who would, otherwise, entirely escape from fiscal burden. The incidence of this tax is less than six annas a head *per annum*, but the vast number of persons so situated

makes some compensation for the smallness of each payment the rates having been equalised over all India, it has been found possible to remove the obnoxious barriers or "customs-hedge" Mayo also gave a great impetus to the development of Indian railways. These had hitherto consisted mainly of Trunk lines constructed on the guaranteed plan, whereby it became the policy of the respective Companies to neglect economy because all the money spent formed an investment at high interest. Mayo saw that the time had come when these works might be safely undertaken out of public money, and it has been a result of his policy that India is being traversed by State-railways, built cheaply by the British Government and by feudatories, which have done much for the improvement of agriculture and commerce, while enormously facilitating the intercourse of the inhabitants of the peninsula.

In the midst of these noble labours, and in the enjoyment of universal confidence and esteem, the Viceroy's honoured life and useful career were suddenly cut short, in January, 1872, by the dagger of a fanatical and revengeful convict while he was inspecting the penal settlement at the Andaman islands. His temporary successor was Lord Napier, of Etrick, the Governor of Madras, but ere long Lord Northbrook was selected at Home for the permanent appointment. Having filled several minor posts in the Home Government Northbrook possessed considerable experience of public affairs to which he added habits of

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THE FIRST
VICEROYS,
(1858-91)

*State Rail
ways*

*Master of
Lord Mayo,
1872*

**Lord
North-
brook**

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THE FIRST
VICEROYS,
(1858-91)

*Afghán of
Jáms*

business and a calm and moderate wisdom

The first task that devolved upon the new Viceroy was to deal with an application for help from the Khán of Khiva. This barbarous chieftain, being called to account for breach of good neighbourhood, by the Government of Russia, was led to hope for assistance from India. But the Viceroy considered that the Russians had an equal right to resent misconduct from conterminous Uzbegs, to that which the Indian Government claimed in the case of Afghánistan, he accordingly declined to interfere. The principle was approved and adopted by the Ministry in England, and the result was an arrangement with the Czar's Government by virtue of which either State is bound to respect the sphere of the other's influence. The only step requisite for the completion of this understanding was an exact delimitation, which, for the moment, was left unsettled. Other political cares, from that quarter, were equally postponed. Sher Ali treacherously imprisoned his son Yákúb, to whom he had been indebted for his throne, but the Government at home, though continuing to sanction payment of the Amir's allowance, negatived interposition in the affairs of Afghánistán. Sher Ali appealed to Lord Northbrook for protection against an apprehended attack from Russia, but the Home Government once more directed abstinence.

*Famine in
Bengal,
1874*

In internal affairs the Viceroy was equally tried. Scarcity impended in Bengal which ripened into famine in 1874. Lord Northbrook was fortunate

enough to have a Lieutenant in Sir R. Temple whose indomitable energy and long official experience enabled him to grapple with the calamity. One hundred thousand bullock-wagons were employed to convey grain to the places where it was dispensed to the starving population, and besides the resources of the railways ten steamers and over 2,000 country-barges were employed in transporting food by water. Relief works destined to permanent utility gave work and wages to a million and three quarters of the peasantry, and the whole cost of the famine-operations exceeded eight *krors* of rupees.

The same year (1874) witnessed the strange spectacle of a reigning feudatory prince being tried for an attempt at murder. The Marátha Chiet of Baroda, known as the Gáckwár, was arraigned before a special commission consisting of three native Chiet and three distinguished European Officials. There was no absolute verdict, as the native Chiefs expressed themselves dissatisfied with the evidence, but the Government to whom the proceedings were reported felt justified in coming to the conclusion that, whether or not the Gáckwar were guilty on the specific charge, he was unfit for the exercise of almost uncontrolled authority. He was, with the sanction of the Council in London, deposed from charge of the Baroda State and a kinsman put in his place.

In 1875 the heir-apparent to the British throne visited India, where he met with a magnificent reception. The House of Commons voted £52,000 for

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THE FIRST
VICTORIES
(1858-91)*Trial of the
Gáckwár
1874**1875
1876
1877*

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THE FIRST
VICEROYS,
(1858—91)

the voyage-expenses and £60,000 for return presents and other incidental expenses, leaving a sum of three lakhs of rupees to be supplied from the local revenues of India. His Royal Highness visited Delhi and Agra, and saw the borders of Nepal in a tiger-hunt. He left Bombay on his way home 13th March, 1876, expressing in a letter to the Viceroy the pleasure and instruction that he had received. During this period a controversy had been going on between India and the Home Government on the subject of tariffs, the former government having placed the importation of piece-goods under what were deemed protective duties. In August, 1876, the Government, after undergoing a reprimand from Lord Salisbury, published a resolution reviewing the whole circle of local finance, and ruling that "all preventable outlay must be stopped." In the correspondence with the Ministry, Northbrook defended himself with dignity, and retired at the beginning of the following year, with the promotion in the peerage which had now become almost a matter of course.

Lord
Lytton,
1876

The next Viceroy was Lord Lytton, the son of a man of genius in letters and in public life, and himself distinguished both as a writer and a diplomatist. Early in his administration he had an opportunity of which he made the fullest use of drawing the heads of the various native communities together by a splendid ceremonial. Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland having resolved, with the sanction of Parliament, on assuming the title of Empress of

*Proclamation
of the Queen
Empress, 1st
January,
1877*

India, all the native princes and notables were invited to assemble at Delhi. There in the neighbourhood of Mughal palace, and on the very ground where the little army of 1857 had been encamped to besiege the rebellious city, was gathered a vast concourse of men of all classes before whom a herald proclaimed the order by which the whole peninsula was formally acknowledged as an Empire. (1st January, 1877.)

But behind all these rejoicings the spectre of Famine once more roused a grim and threatening presence. Three successive rainfalls had been withheld, and dearth was inevitable. Lord Lytton himself went down to Madras, where the calamity was heaviest, Temple's experience and skill were again employed, but in spite of all exertions more than a million lives were sacrificed before the end of the autumn of 1877. One result of this was the creation of a separate fund, intended to accumulate for future occasions when relief on a large scale might be required.

In April, 1878, the British Ministry ordered the despatch of 7,000 native troops to the Mediterranean. Happily no need arose for the services of this force, but its despatch was well managed, and showed a source of imperial strength which had been overlooked since Baird's expedition to Egypt in the beginning of the century.

The next affair of importance was one which proved, ultimately, to be another Afghan war. It has been already mentioned that the Amír, Sher Ali, had been offended by what he considered a want of friendliness

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VICTORY,
(1858-91)*Famine in
Southern
India,
1877-78**Af. in 1878,
1878*

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THE FIRST
ICEBOYS,
(1858-91)

on the part of the British Government in Lawrence's and later in Northbrook's time. Since then the Indian Government had, for strategic reasons, seen fit to occupy Quetta, which—though not in Afghan territory—was regarded by the Amír as a place too near his borders. A conference was held between an emissary of the Amír's and an officer deputed by Lord Lytton but the matters in dispute proved incapable of such adjustment. The Amír turned to Russia, a mission from which power was sent to Kábul. On this Lytton resolved to despatch a British envoy to the Court of the Amír, but he was turned back from the entrance to the Khaibar pass. This led to peremptory request that, as the Amír had received a Russian Mission, he should likewise admit one from India. As this received no satisfactory answer by the time appointed, no alternative appeared but a declaration of war. A column under Sir S. Browne advanced to Jalalabad which was occupied as winter-quarters. Meanwhile General—afterwards Sir Frederic—Roberts had advanced by the next pass in the Sulaiman range and fought his way through the Khost valley, while General—afterwards Sir Donald—Stewart occupied Kandahar. Sher Ali fled northward to Balkh where he died 21st February, 1879, and his son Yakub, who had served his father well and been ill-rewarded, found himself at the head of affairs and concluded a treaty with Lord Lytton's envoy, Major—afterwards Sir Louis—Cavagnari, 25th May. Sir Louis was sent to reside at Kábul, but the usual consequences

*Treaty with
Yakub Khan,
1879*

followed Cavagnari was murdered in an *amete* of the Afghan soldiery on the 3rd September, and Sir F. Roberts advancing on Kabul occupied the heights of Sherpur. Sir D. Stewart gallantly marched to join him fighting a desperate action on the road, at Ahmad Khel, Yákub was deported to India, where he afterwards resided as a State-prisoner, but treated with all due honour and indulgence, and a cousin named Abdur-Rahman, who had been living in Transoxiana, came to Kabul on Lord Lytton's invitation, and was made Amír. It only remains to be added that on a change in the Ministry at home Lord Lytton resigned office in 1880, and was succeeded by the Marquess of Ripon, whose period of office was marked by an increased attention to the political emancipation of the natives and to the reform of national education. The Hindu State of Maisur to which attention was directed in relating the events of Bentinck's Governorship, had remained under British management since 1832. It was now released and has been administered since 1881, by the native dynasty once superseded by Haidar. Some trouble was caused for a time by a member of the Amír's family who invaded south-west Afghanistan, defeated a small British force at Maiwand, and threatened Kandahar, but General Roberts came down from Kabul and chased him out after one short sharp action. The rest of Ripon's administration was free from war, but distinguished by a number of liberal measures. All special restriction was taken off the publications of the Vernacular

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VIOLENCE,
(1858-91).
*Murder of
Cavagnari*

Yakub's Deported

*Abdur Rahman
1832 to 1879
Amir,
1879*

Lord Ripon,
1880

*Battle of
Maiwand,
1880*

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THE FIRST
VICE ROYS,
(1858-91)

Press, which was left to be controlled by the ordinary law. An attempt was made to remove the local administration of rating, sanitation, etc., from the exclusive control of Government officials and vest it in elective committees, and a project was announced for subjecting European British subjects to country Courts, which ended in a compromise between conflicting opinions. A department of Agriculture and Land-Revenue was organised, and statutory restrictions were placed on the enhancement of the State's demand from land. A commission reported on Education, and the result has been to stimulate primary instruction while leaving the higher education more free than before, though not unaided by the State. The customs-duties were lightened, and in regard to piece-goods entirely abrogated. Lastly, the condition of the agriculturists in those parts subject to Lord Cornwallis' Settlement received close attention. It was found that they were subject to arbitrary rating and rackrenting on the part of the Zamindárs, and a measure was prepared for their protection.

Lord Dufferin

Ripon was succeeded by a distinguished diplomatist, the Earl of Dufferin, whose administration was marked by a new Burmese war and under whom the Bengal Tenancy Bill passed into law. The king was deported to India and Upper Burma annexed to the British Empire. Lord Dufferin was made a Marquess, and at the conclusion of his term of office was succeeded by the Marquess of Lansdowne.

Lord Lansdowne

Section 2—Principles of modern Indian Government

SEC. II

PRINCIPLES OF MODERN INDIAN GO- VERNMENT

Such, then, is a brief relation of the progress of the Indian peninsula towards unity. The story divides itself into three stages of very unequal duration. First the indefinable period from the time of the Vedic Aryans to the invasion of Mahmūd, or Shahāb ud-din. During certain fractions of this period the ideal of an Empire of the whole peninsula had been shown—first, in such words as *Blart-Khand* and then in the edicts of Aśoka, and the legends of Vikramāditya. Secondly, the period of Muslim dominion, lasting about five centuries, during which attempts were made to realise the unity of the Empire, which always failed, yet formed a record of progress. Thirdly, comes the British attempt, succeeding to a very considerable extent, unfinished indeed, but still going forward. When the ‘British peace’ was first announced by Lord Hastings the greatness of the issue was hardly realised by any one and certainly by none in England. The Home authorities at the old India-House were connected with the British Parliament—its ill-incompletely representative of the British people—by nothing but the indirect and crooked channel of the Board of Control. With the Government of India they were only able to hold intercourse by means of mercantile vessels which averaged nine months each way. A war for which permission was asked in January, might have to be undertaken fifteen months later, and the prohibition would arrive too late. Similarly, an annexation might be made against

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the wish of the Court of Directors expressed in a despatch that was delayed or lost but it would in some way or other remain uncanceled after all The result of all which was that a Governor-General was for all practical purposes autocratic, subject to having to give an account at the end of his term of office "I suppose you will hang me for this," so one of the greatest of them wrote to the Prime-Minister, "but I would prefer a gibbet in England to a throne in India." If the electric telegraph had existed in the days of Pitt or Canning the Empire would never have been established

*The Secretary
of State and
Council*

The present system, though it has features of resemblance, is actually very different from the system of those days The Secretary of State for India is a member of the "Cabinet," that is of a committee of the Queen's Council holding office at the pleasure of the House of Commons But, unlike other members of that committee he has a Council of his own, which was doubtless suggested by the constitution of the older Court of Directors Departmentally divided the members of this Council advise the Secretary of State, each group in its own department, and resolutions regarding or involving the expenditure of Indian Funds require the concurrence of a majority of the members In questions, however, of a political character, the work is done in what is called "the Secret Department," and here the will of the Secretary, reflecting the policy of the Imperial Cabinet, is paramount and supreme It will thus be seen that if the Viceroy for

the time being happens to belong to the party that is not in power at home he might receive sudden, swift, and peremptory orders which, however he might disapprove them, he could only disobey at his own peril. We have only to think of Lord Ripon serving under Mr Disraeli, or Lord Lytton under Mr Gladstone, to see how great the difficulties thus caused might become. It is therefore a growing necessity that the Viceroy should be a man who enjoys the confidence of the Cabinet that chances to be in power at home, and we see how much the fortunes of the remote and alien political parties of England, Scotland, and Ireland may come to influence those of the people of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay.

That, partly intentional, partly unforeseen, has been one important result of the new system. India is now liable to be governed from the British polling-booths. A second peculiarity, however, (by which the evils of this close connection are somewhat lessened) is the singular character of Indian manners and institutions which is a cause of disgust and neglect to Members of Parliament, and ends in giving to India a certain amount of Home Rule.

Thus the Viceroy—or "Governor-General in Council"—has in ordinary times a good deal of initiative left, especially if he be in cordial relations with the Home authorities. There are, in reality, two Councils, one, known as the "Supreme" Council, is a sort of consultative Cabinet each of whose members is specially representative of one Department of State, or more

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The Governor-General-in-Council.

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the Lieutenant-Governor of a Province being also entitled to a seat if the Council be assembled in that Province There has also—since the reforms of 1833—been a second called the “Legislative” Council, where the members of the first attend, speak, and vote, but which also admits nominated members, who may be Native chiefs, British officials or private Europeans connected with trade or manufactures The bills are brought forward, read, and discussed, in orthodox Parliamentary fashion, and before going into committee are published in the official Gazette The Governors and Lieutenant-Governors of Provinces have also Legislative Councils who deal with local questions and whose Acts require the sanction of the Governor-General The Acts of the Chief Legislature, after being approved by the Viceroy—whose approval is little more than a form—are liable to a veto by the Secretary of State—which is often a stern reality The Provinces referred to have also a High Court each, or four in all the Panjab has a Lieutenant-Governor, but is not otherwise a fully “Regulation” Province, and the head of its judiciary is called a “Chief Court”, Oudh and the Central Provinces have each a Chief Commissioner, but no Court but that of a single official called “Judicial Commissioner” Assam has a Chief, but not a Judicial, Commissioner

*The Legal
system.*

The law of British India is of four kinds Criminal law, which is administered according to the Indian Penal Code, is the same for all the inhabitants of

every part, whatever be their blood, creed, or nationality. A Hindu or Muslim, by this system, may be punished for an insult to another man's religion which would not be an offence in England, in the same way that an Englishman is liable to two years' penal servitude for an offence against the marriage-law which English law regards as purely matter for civil damages. There being no Law of Ports, the Penal Code is freely resorted to by the people for the decision of ordinary disputes. For all that large class of cases which arise out of family quarrels, such as partition of estates, succession, and adoption, the laws of Hindus and Muslims alike make provision, and they are dealt with—by native Judges mainly—on a basis of supposed Revelation. Thus there is no danger of a conflict of laws, because it can hardly happen that the parties to such controversies should be of different persuasions. If such a thing should happen the law of the defendant would govern the case. Thirdly, must be mentioned the local laws on subjects not covered by the Scriptural precepts of the various religions. Such subjects as Mortgage, Contract, and Easement, together with laws relating to Agriculture and the Land-revenue, have been formed into small special Code by digesting the old regulations and the precedents that have arisen out of the best judicial rulings upon cases. Lastly, the Courts will often apply the principles of European law, indeed are bound to do so when the parties are Europeans and their laws applicable and when all

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VERNMENT*The District
officer.*

other guides fail, the Courts have been always expected to determine causes brought before them "according to equity and good conscience" The Court-fees are moderate, and every effort is made to keep down the costs of litigation

Another fundamental principle of Indian administration which distinguishes it from anything known in England, while preserving the germ of Home-Rule in its best sense, is the institution of the "District Officer" This official, who is the ultimate integer of Government, and its concrete representation in the eyes of the people, has been hitherto usually a "Covenanted" Civil Servant sent out originally from England, and trained through the lower posts for his important duties On him devolves the supervision of almost every branch of collective life and work in the interior of the country At the large maritime towns he has colleagues, and the municipal authorities undertake much that would be beyond his strength and experience But in the several communes and small towns groups of which make up the "District," or *Mufassal Zillah*, the threads of all manner of agencies centre in his office. In the older British Provinces—commonly called "Regulation Provinces" this official is known as the "District Magistrate", and he also exercises the functions of supervisor of the Revenue, or "Collector" In the more backward tracts, where the full methods of British rule have not been introduced and which are known as "Non-regulation Provinces," he forms a link in more completely autocratic body, and

has the title of "Deputy-Commissioner." The difference between these parallel offices is considerable. Both are, however, derived from the Mughal system and unite the duties formerly divided between the Faujdar, or Názim, and the Dīwán the functions which the jealousy of the Mughals entrusted to two men being carefully blended in one person by the British

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The advantage of having one common head of local administration was especially seen in the North-West during the troubles caused by the Mutiny of 1857. The singular spectacle was then seen of an Englishman, without military training or rank, raising and leading improvised levies, fighting battles or assisting the proper officers of the army, when such were present, and in most instances either holding his own throughout the outbreak or resuming possession after a temporary retreat. The loyal subjects were thus encouraged and the waverers confirmed, and the framework of society was preserved amid a deluge which seemed sure to sweep it away.

Nevertheless, as civilisation progresses, a division of labour is necessarily brought in. The Regulation Collector-Magistrate has fewer duties and less judicial power than the Non-regulation Deputy Commissioner and with the former are a number of associates in various departments, whose powers tend to become independent. Many of these posts are now held by native gentlemen, and it can hardly be doubted that their employment will in time become more and more

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*The Com
missioner*

general The total number of Districts, of one sort and another, is about 235, they differ in size and population, the larger being in the Madras Presidency —where there are no groups of Districts In the other Presidencies the Districts are grouped in "Divisions" over each of which is a Superintending Officer, called "Commissioner" who comes between the District Officer and the Government, and sees that the principles of the one are carried out uniformly by the other Notwithstanding which the District remains the unit of administration, and the District Officer the true local ruler and representative of Her Majesty's Government

The State-Revenue of India is divisible into two classes, the items raised by the District Officers or otherwise paid by the bulk of the community, and the portion derived from Opium, Sea-Customs, Public Works, the tribute of Native States, and in general all such as are administered by special departments, and either paid by foreigners or by such natives of the country as choose, voluntarily, to do so for benefits received in return

*The land
Revenue*

Of the former class the land-revenue, forming by far the largest item, amounts to nearly twenty-two *lacs* of rupees a year Being only a portion of the net rental it is in fact not a tax at all but a diversion to the credit of the tax-payer of part of an item which must always go to somebody Indeed the land-holders, themselves, can hardly be said to be burdened, seeing that under native governments and even under

the earlier British, they have always paid a much larger proportion of the net produce than is now the rule in British India. The wise and humane Akbar took a third of the gross produce, Lord William Bentinck professed to require three quarters of the net produce, so that the modern system which aims at the collection of half the net produce takes about a tenth of what under Akbar paid a third, and has endowed the land-holders of the present day with the margin between seventy-five per cent and fifty.

So far as this item goes to meet the expenses of the State tax-payers at large are free from burden. The remainder of the obligatory demands are more moderate in British India than anywhere else in the world, thus illustrating the remarkable fact that the incidence of taxation in any country is in inverse ratio to the freedom of its institutions. There is nothing so expensive as Self-Government.

The largest obligatory item is the Salt-Tax. The reforms of Lord Mayo and his successors have been already mentioned. There is now a uniform excise duty upon salt of two rupees eight annas per *maund* (1891) and the aggregate annual yield is over six *lacs* which represents the contribution of the masses to the cost of administration. The average annual incidence of this tax is about six annas per head and there are many millions of people in the country so circumstanced that if they did not make this moderate payment they would escape taxation altogether.

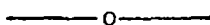
Enough has probably been said to show that while

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The Salt Tax

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great peace and progress have resulted from British rule yet a closer and more minute interference of Parliament in Indian affairs is not to be desired. There is so much that is still peculiar, the habits of the people require such different institutions, that it is well that the details of administration should be left to local experience. In these matters, as in the more subtle problems of thought, and belief, of art, literature, and family-life, reform to be salutary must be indigenous. At the same time the Indian Communities will welcome, as they have hitherto welcomed, the stimulus of a friendly nation that has given them unity in place of anarchy, and is grafting prosperity upon a basis of security and skill.

**Section 3 — Results.**

The happiness of a rural peasantry is not to be altogether measured by the increase of commerce in a few seaports. It is even possible that what is called general prosperity is bound to be marked by a rise in prices which is not accompanied by similar improvement in the wages of unskilled labour. Residents in India are familiar with the spectacle of railway-trucks carrying away the food of the people in times of scarcity, while, from the peculiar structure of rural society, the labourer could not afford the means of detaining that food by paying the increased price which was being offered elsewhere with the addition of the railway freight. But that is only one of the ways

in which an old community suffers when first brought in contact with new civilisation. We may find other instances, take for instance the rate of usance, or interest, on loans of money. In England it is well if five per cent. per annum can be obtained on a safe mortgage. In India, on equally good security, the rate may be from two to three per cent. monthly—six times as much or even more—a rate which was quite reasonable in the days of anarchy, but is no longer so under a settled government, when debtors are inexorably constrained to pay. In both these cases—and others will occur on reflection—it is plain that there has been what is usually considered progress. Yet the immediate result has not been for the greatest happiness of the greatest number. In the dark days, between Nádir Sháh and Lord Wellesley, the Upper Provinces were in a state of nature. A native writer of those days thus describes it—

“The people of Hindustán, at this period, thought only of personal safety and gratification. Misery was disregarded by those who escaped it and man, centred in self, cared not for his kind.”

And Colonel Skinner, who was in Daulat Ráo Sindhia's service about 1785, says that there was no communication, even between neighbouring villages. In such a state of things commercial traffic was impossible. If one place suffered scarcity and there was abundance in another place a hundred miles away, the people of the latter would not be either able or willing to relieve the wants of the former. Now all is differ-

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*Progress of
the country.*

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RESULTS

ent, the railways diffuse the means of subsistence, and gradually equalise prices but while this is going on, the richer districts are supplied at the expense of the poorer, and for this there is no remedy but time. So again with regard to the interest of money. When the exorbitant rates above mentioned came into general acceptance there were no Courts of law to give decrees for the recovery of debts, and, had there been such, there was no force by aid of which the decrees could be executed. Now-a-days a creditor can find a Small-Cause Court not many miles from his door, can prove his debt and get a decree in a few days, and can then enforce it with the aid of officials backed by the whole might of organised Government. Rapid and certain administration is in itself a beneficial product of civilisation but it is not felt as beneficial by the poor debtor who sees himself compelled to discharge a debt doubled by the effect of a rate of interest which arose out of other conditions.

But of all the transitory but troublesome results of the new system to the poor the worse is the rapid increase of population caused by various improvements in the modern system of Government. It is not very easy to compare the present numbers of the people with those in the past, because it is not twenty years since the first scientific census. But the following table will show all that can be discovered.

*The popula-
tion*

<i>Parliamentary Report of 1831</i>	<i>Thornton's estimate 1862</i>	<i>Census of 1871</i>	<i>Census of 1881</i>	<i>Census of 1891</i>
140,722,700	171,222,102	241,111,700	253,866,254	289,187,316

or about—if the figures are trustworthy—an increase of 100 per cent in sixty years. This, however, includes annexation in Burma, and probable increase in accuracy of enumeration. But even that does not express the whole movement. Putting on one side the increase in Presidency towns, it will be found that the general increase has been very great in those parts of the interior where no great towns exist, but where the firm administration of British rule has subsisted the longest. Thus in Bengal there has been an advance of 36 per cent in ten years, and there are parts of rural Bengal where the population is over seven hundred to the square mile. This increased density is due to the assurance of peace, to the diminution of death, and to the way in which cultivation has been extended. So far therefore it is ground for congratulation, but when one goes on to see that all this improved administration leads to crowding and competition, while the multiplied masses of humanity continue to have no means of subsistence but the old resource of agriculture, one sees that there is another aspect of the question. Every improvement in civilisation tends to increase the responsibility of the rulers and the hardness of the task of making the people happy.

When Sir J. Lawrence was Viceroy he issued circulars to select officers asking for their opinions as to the relative happiness of the people under British and under non-British systems. He anticipated the result by stating that he believed it would be found that

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the British subjects were happier if they only knew it. A happiness which is not felt seems hardly worth talking about, but, apart from this, there was a fatal flaw in the enquiry. It may very well be that the lottery of life, the chances of prize with a certain number of blanks, may be more agreeable to human nature than the most exquisitely-administered dead level. Moreover, it was apparently forgotten that all were, in a sense, British subjects, and whether administered wholly by natives or in part by Europeans, it was British arms and British commerce that caused alike the welfare of all.

There is no large country in the world where the Military administration is more efficient than India. But the necessity of keeping order in so vast a territory, to say nothing of readiness to protect the country against possible dangers from without, causes this item to be very costly. Of a net expenditure of seventy millions more than a quarter goes to the maintenance of the army, the total strength being just under two hundred thousand men, of whom about one-third are Europeans. The next largest item is one of about sixteen *lacs* for what are called "Home charges." These are composed, partly, of civil and military payments and pensions, interest on debts and railway-capital, and similar items represented by India-Office bills bought in London by bankers or merchants having payments to make in India. Then there are private remittances, such as the profits of European trade in India, the savings of officials, and

such like. The remaining part of the value of her excess-exports India receives in cash, which averages over ten *lacs* annually. This large sum goes, partly, to the development of production, but is partly hoarded—sometimes, no doubt, lost for good and all.

A few figures may help to show how great that development has been, in spite of the enormous growth of population, India seems to have more and more to sell to other countries. At the beginning of the current century the total value of Indian exports may have been something over two millions of pounds. In 1834 it had risen to ten. In 1884-85 India is said by Sir W. Hunter to have sold to foreign nations "upwards of £80,000,000 worth", but taking this to represent no more than eighty *lacs* of rupees it is an enormous advance for a country to have made in fifty years besides feeding its own more than doubled population. In spite of the existence of numbers of newly-opened local manufactories, India sends eight *lacs* worth of cotton to Europe yearly, while food-grains to the value of fifteen *lacs* are also exported. The total volume of trade, adding imports to exports is now about one hundred and forty *lacs* worth.

These few figures give an idea of the progress that has been made, and of the obstacles which prevent its being made more rapidly. The attempts that have been made to institute a detailed comparison between the condition of the people in various parts of Mughal India and the inhabitants of the same parts now are necessarily incomplete and misleading. The glimpses

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that our narrative affords us of mediæval India show us a people troubled with much warfare and unsympathetic Government, and subjected to fiscal demands that were often only limited by their power to pay. In spite of the experts, we cannot compare the revenues of those times with later demands, because we cannot be sure of the value of money in those days. But, when we learn that Akbar took off fifty-eight miscellaneous items of taxation, and cut down the land-revenue to a demand of one-third the gross produce, we can form some idea what the pressure of the demand must have been under less conscientious rulers. What is nearest to certainty in regard to the revenue in the days of Aurangzeb (Alamgîr), when the Deccan had been annexed and the Hindu poll-tax re-imposed, is that Manucci, the Italian Court physician of those days, reports that, in 1697, the estimated revenue was tantamount to 580,000,000 French *livres*. Now the French *livre* was the sixteenth of a pound sterling, so that this would put the revenue at thirty-six and a quarter millions of pound sterling. From other European travellers we learn that it was 376,000,000 *livres* in 1666 and that in 1707 it had fallen to thirty *lacs* of rupees. But until we can ascertain what was the purchasing power of the rupee we cannot draw any satisfactory comparison between those figures and total of to-day. The discovery of America and the importation of bullion thence could not have affected Indian currency for sometime, and we find, from contemporary records, some items of costs which

Only rough
comparison
possible

help in conjecturing the value of specie in the latter part of Akbar's reign—say 1590. Thus, unskilled labour was paid about an arna *per diem* the pay of a private musketeer was about double of that rate. A single cavalier (*ahdi*) was paid 25 Rs a month, out of which he had to keep his own horse and armed follower. Wheat sold at about ten annas a maund, barley and millet being cheaper, a good sheep could be bought for $1\frac{1}{2}$ rupee. Money was at least worth twice as much as it is now, even in the most remote parts, and the revenue of Alamgir must have been about equal in value—as expressed in commodities—to that of the present Indian Government. Only we must remember what has already been mentioned as to the sources of the modern revenue, of which only about forty *lacs* is levied from the general tax-paying community, and of that more than half is the surplus rent of land. Looking to these facts, and to the enormous increase of the population, we see that the incidence of taxation under the Mughals must have been four or five times as heavy as it is now.

The general conclusion then, must be that whether in lightness of contributions or in peace, prosperity and protection from enemies which are given on return for it, the people of India have been greatly benefited. If, instead of drawing the comparison from the Mughal Empire—which had ceased to govern when the British rule began—we look to the anarchy of the last century, we find still more ground for congratulation. An able Russian journalist has put this in very strong language,

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Mr Katkoff's
estimate of
British rule

The Unity of
India's Go
vernment

—"In reality," wrote the late Mr Katkoff, "the English have been the Saviours of India. During whole centuries the history of India presents one continued spectacle of murder and devastation. The bloody era terminates with the conquest of India by the English, whose government has been incomparably more mild, humane, and just than all the governments under which the Hindus have ever lived."

Of all the good results of the British interposition in the affairs of India the most remarkable, and the most promising of ultimate strength and welfare is *unity*. When a number of races and States are brought to live together on an area of land surrounded by well-defined and coercive boundaries there can be but two destinies before them. There have been times, in the course of European history when Italy—so like India on a reduced scale—was a mere geographical expression, a stretch of land surrounded by the sea and the mountains, in which dwelt peoples differing in origin, and language and creed. Of these it used to be said that such were their mutual animosities that if their blood were to be poured together into one basin each race's blood would remain separate. Such alienations have now been wholly reconciled, although local customs and dialects linger in remote divisions, the Italians move from one end of their peninsula to another, with one religion, one law, and one Government. The same thing has happened in other European and American countries, and it may be broadly said that the tendency of the present

form of social life, there, is to bring together all races and nations that have any common fears, aspirations, and modes of thought. Among wise and active-minded communities there is, doubtless, another tendency, clearly perceptible which appears at first sight entirely opposed to the first-mentioned Self-government, among Western nations is so strongly organised that it may almost seem an established principle with them that the unit of administration must exactly coincide with the integer of common interest. The synthesis of these two tendencies is Federal unity, and it is in force in India almost as much as anywhere. The Governor-General-in-Council is the common crown and regulator of the wide area and the twenty different languages and races that live there as the German Emperor is in Europe or the President of the United States in America. But this does not prevent the minor administrations from being obeyed in the domestic affairs of their respective spheres, whether these be Hindu Rajaships, Muslim Nawabis, or Provinces ruled by Chief Commissioners, Lieutenant-Governors, or Governors-in-Council. And thus it has come about, instead of Sikh quarrelling with Pathan, Mughal aiming at sovereignty, or Maratha sweeping the lands of others for *chaut*, we have the spectacle of the Bengali helping to administer the Panjab, and the Parsi keeping a store in Assam.

A second bond of unity, scarcely less strong than the federal form of government, is community of law. On domestic matters there is still an unbridged chasm

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between the Hindu and the Muslims, nay even between the Bengalis and the other Hindus, between the Shiáhs and the Sunnis. This must continue, for the next many years, just as the marriage-laws must continue to differ in European and American communities according as people are Catholics or not. The marriage-law even in two parts of Britain is unlike, yet that does not prevent Scots and Englishmen from being very good friends or friendly competitors in trade, and in the public service. But as in Britain, so in the far larger field of India, the general principles of public law are alike, if not actually identical. Indeed India, though the larger country, has clearly the advantage in this matter. Go where he will, from Adam's Bridge to Attock the inhabitant of the Indian peninsula will find that contracts are enforced on the same principles and the same system, and that a breach of the Penal Code is punished in the same way at places thousands of miles apart.

The Hindustani language

A last connecting link, which will strengthen, is the common language, known as *Urdu* or "*Hindustáni*." We have already seen how this medium of intercourse arose in the camp of the mediæval Muslims. It has been greatly stimulated and developed under British rule. In the Panjáb it is a common vernacular of millions who could not otherwise communicate, in Hindustan it is also the language of law and of much of the public business. In Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, it forms a common term between Hindu and Musalman, Parsi, Portuguese and European. It is

spoken in Kabul and in Comorin. It has an extraordinary faculty of adoption and assimilation such as is only found in a popular idiom with a future before it. The French and English tongues have almost lost this power since they became great literary vehicles, but the language of which we speak here has a grammar of the utmost simplicity and a vocabulary which has no visible limit.

Such are the past and present of the Asian Italy—its future is hidden from our eyes.

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THE END